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THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE LEGEND OF THE BODY AND SOUL

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A Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

APRIL, 1910

BY

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PREFACE

The following study, practically as it stands, was presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in April, 1910, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. My interest in the legend of the Body and Soul began when I was a member of the Seminary in Middle English at Bryn Mawr during the year 1906-7. Professor Brown then pointed out to me a pseudo-Augustinian homily which contained the theme of the soul's address to its body, suggesting that I determine its relation to other Body and Soul material. The results of that investigation were embodied in an article, "An Early Homily on the 'Body and Soul' Theme," which, though completed in that year, was not published until April, 1909, in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*.

In the autumn of 1908 I continued my investigation of the legend at the Bibliothèque Nationale. It was at first my intention to devote myself to a comparative study of the late versions; the amount and importance of early material, however, soon convinced me that the problem of sources demanded precedence. Accordingly, I determined to restrict the field of my inquiry to the Christian Egyptian influences in the legend.

The extension of this subject to include also the Ancient Egyptian origins of the Christian themes, was largely a matter of chance. From the notes to many translations from the Coptic, especially those of Mr. Forbes Robinson, and of M. Amélineau, I became interested in the survivals of Ancient Egypt, and tried, though only in a

general way, to define that influence with relation to the ideas of the Body and Soul legend. To M. Amélineau I owe the suggestion that I work out these relations in some detail.

The discussion of these Egyptian themes is, of course, here limited to the motives which appear in the Body and Soul legend. In my treatment of them, however, I have allowed myself some latitude, and have included material not essentially relevant to my immediate subject, even at the risk of impairing the proportions of the work as a whole. I have been led to do this by my conviction that the material presented, which is, I think, largely unknown to students of mediæval literature, will prove valuable in the interpretation of later religious literature.

Nevertheless, the chapters presenting the Egyptian beliefs do not claim to be either complete, or absolutely accurate in all details. A critical discussion would necessarily be based upon the original Greek, Hebrew, and Coptic texts, while I have been compelled to use them in translations. In all probability much additional material exists in texts which have been inaccessible to me; also the translations on which I have depended may not be in all points accurate. I have, however, tried to cover as nearly as possible the material which has been translated, and I have sought to avoid the mistakes of translators by collating important passages whenever more than one translation is in existence. In conclusion, I feel that I can use translations with comparative safety because my discussion does not demand the exact reading of the texts, but is concerned only with the fundamental ideas expressed.

Though working on a legend which has been the subject of much study, I have included in this dissertation no

statement of former theories, or refutation of them. M. Batiouchkof is the only person whose work on the legend touches the present field of investigation. He has published a long article in *Romania* (Vol. xx), and several articles in Russian—only one of which I have been able to consult. His study of the legend in *Romania* is the most important which has yet appeared, and it is the one which formed the starting point for the present investigation. I have not made a detailed study and refutation of the opinions it expresses, however, because, though my conclusions differ from his at almost every point, the trend of our arguments is at bottom the same, and my own work is in the broader sense only a continuation of his.

To M. Batiouchkof, therefore, I owe my first acknowledgment of indebtedness in the writing of this dissertation. From his article I have taken not only much of my material, but also many of my fundamental hypotheses. Whenever it has seemed pertinent I have acknowledged particular borrowings in the footnotes or in the text. My general indebtedness to him, however, deserves recognition here.

It is a pleasure, also, to acknowledge my great obligations to M. E. Amélineau of the *École des Hautes Études, (Sciences Religieuses)*. I have used his translations from the Coptic very extensively, and furthermore I am indebted to him for personal aid. To him I owe, as I have said, the suggestion that I study in detail the survivals of Ancient Egypt in the Christian themes. He has also suggested many individual points in the first chapters, especially in regard to those details of the ancient religion which are carried over directly into the Christian literature.

My obligations to Dr. Montague Rhodes James, Pro-

vost of King's College, Cambridge, are of a similar nature. I owe to his editions of early Christian Apocrypha many of my texts and references, and I have often based my conclusions on the opinions he has set forth in his introductions. Dr. James has also been kind enough to allow me to discuss with him almost all the questions which I have treated in chapters two to five.

To Dr. Carleton Brown of Bryn Mawr College, I am indebted not only for the initial impulse to this study, but also for much assistance in the course of putting the results into their present form. He has read the entire manuscript several times, and there is hardly a page but owes something to his careful supervision. For the general arrangement of the material, however, as for the opinions expressed, I alone am responsible.

L. D.

GEORGETOWN, KENTUCKY,
AUGUST, 1910.

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I

INTRODUCTION

The mention of Egypt in two Latin homilies which give a primitive form of the Body and Soul legend seems to furnish an important clue as to its original home. In the first of these versions the vision of the soul which cursed its body is introduced as "quoddam exemplum horribile, quod quidam homo sanctus in excessu mentis positus vidit, et audivit de quadam anima de Ægypto exeunte, et contra corpus suum contendente." [1] The second homily prefaces the vision in this way: "Audiamus quid Macaris qui curam gerebat animarum in Alexandria, quibusdam verba faciens, se a quodam fratre monacho in excessu mentis posito audisse peribetur." [2] These definite references to Egypt suggest at the very outset of our inquiry that the Body and Soul legend is a product of Christian Egypt.[3] Accepting this tradition of Egyptian origin as a working hypothesis, I shall undertake in the following chapters to confirm it by other evidence and to determine to what extent the conceptions embodied in the legend are to be regarded as distinctly Egyptian.

[1] *P. L.* 40, 1356. [2] *Romania*, 20, 576.

[3] The name Macarius can not be taken as definitive either of authorship or of date, for, as M. Batiouchkof (*Romania*, 20, 15) has shown, Macarius was an epic personage around whom accumulated various legends as to the lot of the soul at the time of death. On the other hand, it may very probably record a tradition of origin in the Egyptian monasteries, or more broadly still, in Christian Egypt. In fact just such a reference to Egypt has been preserved in an Old French metrical version of a story taken from the Coptic. Cf. p. 167, pp. 20-1, and n. 5, and p. 26.

1. The Importance of the Egyptian Church

That Egyptian Christianity should have influenced in this way the Christianity of Rome and the West is seen to be entirely possible when one considers—even though briefly—the importance of the Church of Egypt. Alexandria, its chief city, rivalled Rome and Antioch as a centre of Christian thought and culture, the home of great men and of great movements. It was there that the first Christian school of theology was founded. It was there under the brilliant leadership of Origen and Clement that the first attempts were made to reconcile Christianity and philosophy. Again, it was in the Bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, that orthodoxy found its champion against the Arian heresy. Although between the time of Athanasius and that of Egypt's separation from Rome (451), the Alexandrian school declined in brilliancy, Alexandria's connections with Rome were not lessened thereby. On the contrary they were, if anything, rather more intimate, for, owing to the Arian tendencies in Antioch after the Council of Nicæa (325), Rome was estranged from Antioch and the East.[4]

The Church of Egypt, in so far as it can be differentiated from the Church of Alexandria, contributed less to the theology but more to the social organization of the Christian Church. For it was in Egypt that Christian monasticism had its origin. Not only was this the home of Paul of Thebes, and St. Anthony, the first Christian hermits, and of Pachomius, the founder of the first

[4] Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, New York, 1882 +, II, §9, §116, §185 ff., III, §119 ff., §171. A very readable short account of the school of Alexandria is that of the Abbé Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, London, 1909, chap. XVIII.

Christian monastery; it was also the scene of the immediate wide-spread adoption of monastic principles. The impulse to ascetic modes of life then spread from Egypt over the entire Church.[5]

In addition, the contributions of Egypt to the literature of the Roman Church were important, though it is not necessary, here, to do more than indicate the main classes into which they fall. First and foremost are the writings of the Egyptian Fathers. Then come the various Apocryphal Books and Apocalyses which had their origin in Egypt; and lastly, the lives of the Egyptian saints and ascetics.[6] The influence of Egypt was thus felt in almost every department of Christian life and thought. Therefore, while Rome was borrowing so much of great import from Egypt, she may very easily have taken over some germ of the legend of the Body and Soul.

2. References to Egypt in Versions of the Body and Soul Legend

Now that we have recognized in Christian Egypt a possible home for the legend, what proof have we that it was the actual home? In the first place there are the references to Egypt in the two Latin homilies already mentioned. Though these establish a presumption as to the source of the legend, they cannot be accepted as in themselves conclusive evidence. Mediæval homilists were notoriously careless in statements concerning their

[5] Schaff, *Ibid.*, III, §28 ff.

[6] Schaff, *Ibid.*, *passim*. As an example of a purely literary influence originating in Christian Egypt, the *Bestiary* is very much in point. Cf. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889.

sources. A reference to a person or place may register a trustworthy tradition, or it may be only an ornament added by some late redactor to attract attention, or to give his sermon authority. Besides, there is always the possibility of scribal error, of the unconscious substitution of one name for another. We can not, therefore, be certain that these references are trustworthy.

Nevertheless, their reliability is increased beyond that of the usual homiletical introduction by several considerations which, though minor in themselves, are yet of cumulative value. They are contained in the two homilies which represent the most primitive known form of the legend,[7] and which, on that account, are the most likely to retain genuine traditions of source. Again, the reference to Christian Egypt, though it occurs in both homilies, is not copied in one from the other: in other words, it is not a mere formula. Finally, it is a point in favor of the credibility of these references that the hypothesis of Egyptian origin, as we have just seen, is one which is in every way possible.

3. Parallels in Egyptian Tradition

The evidence necessary to support these references in the homilies is to be found in the literature of Christian Egypt. An examination of this literature reveals many texts which are obviously related very closely to the early versions of the Body and Soul legend. In spite of this close relationship, however, it is not possible to point to any particular text as the source from which the earliest version of the legend was taken. Resemblances in thought

[7] See my article: "An Early Homily on the 'Body and Soul' Theme," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, 1909.

or detail which, if they occurred in a single text, might be accepted as evidence of direct relationship, are to be found in several texts; and there is no reason for preferring one to the other as the actual source.

Not only do the exact details and ideas of the Body and Soul tradition appear in more than one text, but similar details and ideas are also of frequent occurrence in Egyptian literature. Yet the relations between these various texts are not such as can be accounted for as literary borrowings, or even as the result of purely literary influences. Likenesses appear in manuscripts of various dates, both before and after the separation of the Egyptian Church from Rome. They occur alike in orthodox and heretical teachings. They are not confined to one class of writings, but are met with in Saints' Lives and Apocrypha as well as in homilies. In short, the resemblances and differences between these Egyptian texts are such as can be easily explained only on the supposition that they represent popular beliefs and commonly known traditions of the Egyptian people.

To what extent these were serious beliefs and to what extent they represent only common tradition, is a difficult matter to determine. The sincerity with which they are stated varies. Some texts manifestly express actual beliefs, others approach the elaboration of homiletical convention. Neither can we be certain how far these were popular beliefs, for, after all, the material from which we have to judge is limited. On the whole, however, the dominant and the primary character seems that of popular belief. This conclusion is confirmed when we find on an examination of their sources that these beliefs are, in the main, but Christianized remnants of the religion of Ancient Egypt.

4. Ancient Egypt the Ultimate Source

It is universally recognized that Christianity, in each of the countries to which it came, accepted much from the religion it found there. Sometimes this acceptance took the form of actual recognition on the part of the Church, of the customs and practices once pagan. More often it was only the survival of heathen beliefs and superstitions in popular thought and tradition. The exact character and the extent of the pagan influence varied according to the particular conditions existing in each country. Always, however, the actual tendency of Christianity was to assimilate rather than to extirpate the older religions.[8]

If, now, we apply this general principle to Egypt we find that it will explain those popular beliefs which appear later in the Body and Soul legend. Among the particular conditions in Egypt which determined the nature and the extent of the influence exerted upon Christianity by the native paganism, there are two which were specially important in their bearing upon the beliefs we are here considering.[9] The first is the agreement of Christianity

[8] Cf. Revillout: "S'il est un fait absolument indiscutable dans l'histoire de l'église, c'est que chacun des anciens peuples de l'orient en embrassant le christianisme lui avait apporté en dot, pour ainsi dire, ses antiques traditions, ses aspirations, ses tendances, en un mot tout ce qui faisait le propre de sa civilisation antérieure." *Rev. Égypt.*, IV, 35.

[9] The conditions in Egypt were somewhat peculiar. Alexandria was in many respects more a Greek city than an Egyptian, and Christianity in coming there received Greek as well as Egyptian influences. In fact the overwhelming importance of Philo and the Greek philosophy in the early years of the Egyptian Church have caused the native Egyptian elements to be rather neglected. Recently, however, scholars have bestowed more attention on this

and the Egyptian religion in their belief in immortality. Both taught a future life, which, under certain conditions, was to be feared. The Christian teaching, however, was vague, whereas the Egyptian other-world was a definite place with definite joys and definite terrors. It was almost inevitable, therefore, that the Egyptians should fill in the hazy outlines of the new religion with definite features from the old: especially since the new religion in so far as it was explicit, hinted at terrors and joys of the same kind as those of the old. So, an Egyptian who feared great vats of fire with monsters guarding them, believed, very naturally, that the "burning of the wicked," of which he heard in the Christian teaching, took place in vats of fire, and that there were monsters standing by.[10] The same tendency holds true with regard to all the eschatological ideas of the Christian religion. The essential beliefs of the two teachings being much the same, the formal expression of those beliefs tended to become identical. The eschatological doctrines of Christianity were consequently embellished by the concrete conceptions of the older, more definite religion.

The second of the two conditions mentioned is the state of decadence into which the Egyptian religion had fallen at the time Christianity made its appearance. It had already ceased to be a living power. Internally it had begun to decay into mere formalism; externally,

subject. Dr. Erman in the chapter "Aus der griechischen Zeit Ägyptens" of his *Ägyptische Religion* gives a very good statement of the mixture of the three religions. M. Amélineau in many of the introductions to his translations from the Coptic, as in his *Essai sur le Gnosticisme Égyptien,* points out parallels in Ancient Egypt. Cf. also Samuel Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity,* London, 1863; and *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.,* p. xiii.

[10] Even the name of the Egyptian other-world (Amenti) was carried over into the Coptic writings. See below, pp. 22, 67, etc.

owing to Greek and Hebrew influences, especially in Alexandria, it had become corrupted by confusion with other religions. Much of its real significance had thus been lost. The Egyptians themselves did not understand the deeper meanings of their own religion; hence, when they became Christians and, unconsciously, carried over into the new religion their older native beliefs, they necessarily introduced only their understanding—or misunderstanding—of them.

As the result of these conditions the influence of Ancient Egypt on Christianity is traceable in borrowings of concrete conceptions and details, rather than of abstract ideas or theological doctrines. It is the figures and the ceremonies, the formal teachings and the outward expressions, of the old religion which are retained in the new. And it is in elements of this kind that the conceptions identified with the Body and Soul legend reveal their indebtedness to Ancient Egypt.

Some of these are taken over bodily from the native religion; others are Egyptian only in their fundamental ideas, which are developed according to Christian standards, or are even combined with other pagan beliefs. Again, Egyptian influence is seen in the borrowings of specific details, which in some cases are introduced in their original settings. Often the Egyptian beliefs are misinterpreted, or perverted, in the Christian texts. In all, however, the determining influence is Egyptian.

5. The Transfer from Egypt to Rome

Let us consider now the specific problem which is presented by our theory of Egyptian origin. If the ideas incorporated in the Body and Soul legend are

native to Egypt, it follows that the legend came ultimately from Egypt. How, then, was the transfer to the Roman world effected? As has already been stated, there are no extant texts from Egypt which can be regarded as the definite literary sources of the earliest versions of the legend; consequently it is impossible to determine the exact stages through which Egyptian beliefs developed into the legend as we encounter it on Roman soil. Nevertheless, in endeavoring to account for its passage across the Mediterranean one question may profitably be considered at the outset, namely: In what form did the legend come to Rome?

Here, I think, we must recognize two possibilities. First, some early version of the legend may have been written in Egypt and brought thence to Rome. As to the exact form which it may have assumed at the time of its migration, it is hardly worth while to speculate: it may have been recounted as an actual occurrence; more probably it was placed in the vision setting; it may have become stereotyped in the form of an *exemplum*. But whatever the setting, it is possible that when the legend travelled from Egypt it had already assumed definite form.

The second possibility is that the definite combination of Egyptian traditions, which we know as the legend of the Body and Soul, was made in Rome. For the Egyptian ideas were well-known in the Western Church. The relations between the two Churches were so intimate, it could hardly be otherwise. Manuscripts were continually being passed from one to the other;[11] there was,

[11] The book trade of Alexandria would, in itself, be sufficient to account for such an introduction of Egyptian ideas in Rome. Take for example the manuscripts of the Bible. "All the oldest and best manuscripts of the Greek Bible now remaining were written by

too, constant communication between the two Churches, with consequent interchange of ideas.[12] Indeed, it would seem that whatever religious beliefs were current in Egypt, must almost certainly have been known also in Rome.[13]

This general interchange of ideas, however, important as it was in the spread of the Egyptian beliefs through the Roman Church, necessarily leaves but faint traces after the lapse of fifteen centuries. It is fortunate therefore that we can appeal to more tangible evidence. This we find, first, in the Egyptian writings, which themselves enjoyed great popularity in the Western Church. Some of the very texts from which I quote as illustrating the Egyptian beliefs, as the *Life of St. Anthony* or the *Vitae Patrum*, were among the most widely known and most influential books of the Middle Ages. So far as the Egyptian Apocrypha are concerned, there is absolute proof that they were known in the Roman Church, for many of them have entirely disappeared except in manuscripts of the late Middle Ages.[14] Again, we know that

Alexandrian penmen, that of Paris, that of the Vatican, that of Cambridge, that of the British Museum, and that from Mount Sinai, now in Russia" (Sharpe, *l. c.*, p. 113).

[12] Some idea of the travels of the early Christians can be gained from the chapter on "Women Pilgrims" in T. R. Glover's *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, Cambridge, 1901. Palestine was oftenest the objective point of these pilgrimages but Egypt was usually visited on the way.

[13] The worship of Isis was quite general at Rome during the first centuries, and though that fact may have had something to do with a ready adoption of the ideas in the Christian Egyptian texts, it cannot account for the presence of the heathen Egyptian ideas in the Christian texts, since the texts themselves came from Egypt.

[14] The Greek *Testament of Abraham* is known only in MSS. of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. The earliest complete versions of the *Visio Pauli* are of the eighth and tenth centuries, etc.

these Egyptian beliefs were familiar in the Roman Church, for we find them mirrored in various examples of its own literature.

Since these Egyptian beliefs were known in Rome as well as in Egypt, we cannot decide positively whether the home of the legend, as a legend, was Egypt or Rome. The close resemblances between the Egyptian texts and the early Body and Soul versions make me of the opinion that the legend actually took form in Egypt. At most, however, the question is of comparatively little importance, as in either case the fundamental beliefs which underlie the legend would be of Egyptian origin.[15]

6. Egyptian Influence in Mediæval Literature

The whole field of Egyptian sources for the literature of the Middle Ages has been very little studied. Dr. Becker, in his dissertation on the mediæval vision,[16] sketches the part played by the Egyptian religion as one of the non-Christian influences. His discussion is suggestive so far as it goes, but it is very brief and includes only the most salient features of each religion.[17]

[15] It is this possibility of the legend's having taken shape in the Roman world which makes unnecessary all discussion of its date in connection with the Egyptian Church. Of course, if the story came from Egypt as a story, it came, in all probability, before the separation of the Egyptian Church from Rome in 451. In view of the way in which stories were handed down in the Middle Ages, there is no difficulty in supposing that the legend took shape before that date. The fact that the story could have been formed in Rome, from the Egyptian ideas, however, leaves the question of date entirely open.

[16] E. J. Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Mediæval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Johns Hopkins dissertation, Balto., 1899.

[17] His statements are based almost entirely on Alger's *History*

Other students of mediaeval legends, as for example Alfred Nutt [18] and Mr. Boswell,[19] make reference to Egypt in connection with Celtic tradition. Practically all of these references, however, are based upon the assumption that Egyptian influence would reach the Roman world only through the medium of Greek or Hebrew, Christian Egypt being entirely ignored. The question has also been approached from the other end: students of Egyptian Apocrypha refer casually to analogous ideas in the literature of the Middle Ages. Dr. Lauchert's dissertation on the *Physiologus,* however, is the only attempt to study exhaustively any Christian Egyptian influence upon that literature. Yet it is hardly a parallel case, for Dr. Lauchert is not concerned with the final step in our inquiry: the survivals of the religion of Ancient Egypt in Egyptian Christianity. The reasons for this general neglect are, as I have already suggested: (1) Coptic texts have been, until recent years, very little studied and are thus comparatively unknown; (2) the influence of Egypt on Christianity through the Greeks and the Jews has been deemed sufficient to account for all patently Egyptian traits in the literature of the Middle Ages; and (3) the Greek character of Alexandria and the great importance of Greek influences in Egyptian Christianity have diverted attention from the native elements which also went into its make-up.

of the Doctrine of a Future Life. I believe that he refers once to the *Book of the Dead.* The literature of Christian Egypt seems to have been entirely unknown to him; he speaks only of the Ancient Egyptian and states—though without giving any authority—that the Egyptian features have probably come through the medium of the Greek (p. 16).

[18] *The Voyage of Bran,* London, 1895, I, 245, 283; II, 263 ff.

[19] *An Irish Precursor of Dante,* London, 1908, pp. 86 ff.

Nevertheless, much is to be gained by studying the literature of Egypt in its relation to the Middle Ages. Nor is the influence of Egypt by any means confined to the beliefs represented in the legend of the Body and Soul. There are many other matters in the literature of the Middle Ages on which the ideas and beliefs of Egypt, either ancient or Christian, may throw light. Take for example the various forms which the soul assumes,[20] or the weighing of the soul by St. Michael. The resemblance between the Ancient Egyptian and the mediæval presentations of the weighing of the soul has been noted by more than one writer on Christian iconography.[21] Again, the *scala celi* of the Middle Ages [22] reminds one of the ladders by which the soul was said to ascend to Heaven so far back as the Pyramid texts.[23] It is probable,

[20] Cf. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, London, 1851, II, 173 ff.; Maury, *Croyances et Légendes du Moyen Age* (nouvelle édition des *Fées du Moyen Age* et des *Légendes pieuses* publiée par MM. A. Longnon et G. Bonet-Maury), Paris, 1896, pp. 210 ff.; p. 272.

[21] J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland before the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1887, pp. 179 ff.; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe Siècle en France*, p. 476; F. Wiegand, *Der Erzengel Michael in der bildenden Kunst, Ikonographische Studie*, Stuttgart, 1886, pp. 38-9. Cf. also, Dr. Becker's dissertation, p. 16.

[22] This was, I think, a common mediæval motive, though just now I can put my hands on but few examples of it. In many illustrations to manuscripts a monk, or a soul, is trying to mount to heaven by a ladder, the rounds of which are identified with the various virtues. Cf. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 37049 f. 37 b, f. 49 b, and f. 17. Saint Briocus was said to ascend to heaven by a luminous ladder (Brewer, *Dict. of Miracles*, p. 459). I have been referred also to a golden ladder of virtues in some of Bonaventura's writings. Cf. the *Scala Cœli Major, seu de ordine cognoscendi Deum in creaturis dialogus*, and the *Scala Cœli Minor, seu de gradibus charitatis opusculum*, *P. L.*, 172, 1229, 1239.

[23] See the translations by Maspero, *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et a l'Archéologie Égptiennes et Assyriennes:* IV, 58; V, 195; etc.

too, that many of the popular mediæval stories originated in Christian Egypt. It has not been pointed out, so far as I am aware, that the miracle of the roasted cock, widely known in the ballads of *St. Stephen and Herod* and *The Carnal and the Crane,* is to be found in the recently discovered Coptic *Evangel of the Twelve Apostles.*[24] In the same Gospel Judas' wife is made responsible for the selling of Christ [25]—a motive which should be compared with that of the sister's guilt in the ballad *Judas.* In another Coptic text I have identified one of the stories appearing in the *Vitae Patrum.*[26] How many others may be traced to similar sources? Again, as Le Page Renouf has noted, a recipe in the Medical Papyrus of Berlin re-appears with very little change in an English volume of the eighteenth century.[27] These points of contact with Egypt outside of the Body and Soul material are merely mentioned in passing because they are not directly concerned with our present inquiry. In so far, however, as they serve to illustrate the influence of Egypt upon mediæval literature, they tend to confirm the view that the legend of the Body and Soul is of Egyptian origin.

7. Method

In setting out to trace the Egyptian elements in the Body and Soul legend, it will be convenient to discuss separately the Egyptian beliefs and the Body and Soul versions. In the next four chapters I shall examine,

[24] Translated by E. Revillout, *Revue Biblique,* 1904, pp. 332-3. This Gospel was known to Origen.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 330.

[26] See chap. II, p. 21, note 5.

[27] *Ägypt. Zeitschrift,* 1873, 123; cf. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt,* London, 1894, p. 363.

in turn, each of the more important underlying beliefs that appear in the early versions of the legend, considering first its nature, then the various forms that it assumed in the Egyptian texts, and lastly its relation to the Ancient Egyptian religion.[28]

The remaining chapters will deal with those versions of the legend that seem most significant for its history. Chapter VI will be devoted to those homilies that represent the most primitive known form of the legend. In Chapter VII, I shall review the relation of the primitive versions to the *Visio Fulberti*, and the *Samedi*—the most important versions of the 'Debate' form, and indeed, of all forms of the legend. The Irish homily is reserved for separate consideration in the concluding chapter, because, although it offers an example of a very primitive form of the legend, it is one which differs widely from the Latin versions. The various Middle English speeches of the soul to the body, and the Old English *Address of the Soul to its Body* have not been included in the present discussion inasmuch as they do not belong to the direct line of development of the legend, and also because they show no marked Egyptian influence.

A word of explanation may be added at this point in regard to the documents which are used as testimony in my discussion of the Egyptian beliefs. In the text I

[28] To avoid repetition, I have omitted specific references when stating generally accepted facts about the Egyptian religion. The books on which I have relied are: Erman, *Die Ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1905; Steindorff, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York, 1905; Renouf, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt, Hibbert Lectures*, 1879; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897; Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, tr. by M. L. McClure, 3rd ed., New York, 1897; and *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, tr. by E. Lee, London, 1908.

confine myself to writings which can be traced to Egypt, except in a very few instances, and in these attention will be called to the fact that the material is non-Egyptian. Most of the documents from which I shall quote are obviously Egyptian, as are the translations from the Coptic, or the Greek writings of the Egyptian Fathers. Others, scholars have assigned to Egypt on the basis of internal evidence, though external evidence connecting them with Egypt is lacking. To this class belong the *Testament of Abraham,*[29] the *Testament of Job,*[30] and the *Fourth Book of Ezra.*[31] The only text from which I quote to any extent that has not been assigned to Egypt, is the *Visio Pauli.*[32] However, its latest editor,

[29] Ed. James, p. 76.

[30] *Apoc. Anec.* II, xciv. Dr. James is of the opinion that both the *Testament of Abraham* and the *Testament of Job* were written by Jews living in Egypt, in the second or third century. In this way he accounts for the Jewish and Egyptian elements in them. Since the publication of Dr. James' edition, a Coptic version of the *Testament of Abraham* has been published by Guidi, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche—Serie Quinta,* IX, Roma, 1900, pp. 157-80.

[31] M. Basset (p. 21) says that chapters III-XIV belong to the *Apocalypse of Ezra* written by a Jew of Alexandria about 97 A. D. Dr. James (p. lxxxix) does not discuss the provenance of the book, he prints, however, the results of Kabisch, who dates the part I quote (last half of Chapter VII) from the same period, but makes Rome the place of its composition.

[32] The *Visio Pauli* is known in Greek, Latin, and Syriac versions. The Greek was long thought the original, and the Syriac a late and corrupt translation of it. However, the Latin version, which has been published but recently, bears out the Syriac in almost every particular, thus showing that the Greek is an abbreviated form. The Latin is the most perfect version of the three, and I shall quote from it except in those cases in which the Syriac is clearer or offers a more striking parallel.—In connection with the Egyptian influences in the *Visio Pauli,* I may call attention to the fact that the recently discovered fragment of the Greek original of the Latin version was brought from Egypt.

Dr. James, though he has not yet, I think, published his conclusions as to its home or its original language, states that it has been influenced by Coptic works.[33] Moreover, the beliefs contained in it agree with those in works which are strictly Egyptian. Therefore, I have decided to include it among the texts which illustrate Egyptian beliefs.

References to non-Egyptian texts in which the beliefs in question make their appearance will be added in the foot-notes and appendices. As a rule, the few references to writings of the Eastern Church—for the most part contemporary with those of Christian Egypt—are given in the foot-notes, and references to the writings of the Roman Church in the mediæval period are reserved for the appendices. When, however, a Latin reference concerns only a specific detail, it will be included among the foot-notes. There are few, if any, of these references that cannot be explained as borrowings from Egypt.

It is altogether probable that many more references, of both classes, can be added to those I have noted. The references to the literature of the Roman Church are only such as I have gathered in the course of a very limited and rather cursory reading for other purposes. But even as it is, the number of these references is significant. A systematic search through the literature of the Middle Ages would result, I am convinced, in a much larger accumulation of evidence pointing to the influence of Egyptian beliefs.

[33] *Test. Abr.*, p. 21.

II

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE SOUL IS SEPARATED FROM ITS BODY

The beliefs as to the manner in which the soul is separated from its body are based on a conception of the soul as a concrete, physical being. The central theme about which they all revolve is man's unwillingness to die. The soul will not quit its body voluntarily; hence the messengers who are sent for it must employ some external means other than the mere bidding of the soul to follow. Moreover, since the soul itself is conceived in physical terms, its removal from the body is frequently represented as accomplished by physical means. But whatever the means, it is a physical separation that is effected. The concrete "life" is parted from its body, though unwillingly.

Inasmuch as the removal of the good soul and that of the evil soul were effected by widely different means, these beliefs fall naturally into two general classes which must be separately considered. Under each of these divisions, I shall first present the beliefs which appear in the texts of Christian Egypt, and then shall undertake to show in what ways these beliefs link themselves to the religion of Ancient Egypt, and to what extent they have been suggested by its conceptions and ideas.

1. The Departure of the Good Soul

The good soul must be taken without pain. Because it is good, God and the angels are unwilling that it should

suffer while being separated from its body. On that account the means employed to draw it forth are always gentle. Thus, in the Coptic *Life of Pachomius* it is a kind of massage. Two angels surround the dying man's bed:

> Au moment où l'homme est sur le point de rendre son âme, l'un des Anges se tient près de sa tête, un autre à ses pieds sous la forme d'hommes qui l'oignent d'huile de leurs propres mains, jusqu'à ce que l'âme sorte de son corps; l'autre déploie un grand vêtement spirituel pour l'en revêtir avec gloire. Et elle, cette âme d'un homme saint, tu la trouves belle de forme et blanche comme la neige.[1]

The same idea is found in the description of the death of Pisentios:

> Il passa tout ce jour comme quelqu'un que l'on frotte d'huile. A la fin, il dit cette parole: "Voici que j'ai accompli l'ordre du Seigneur, et je suis prêt." Puis il ouvrit la bouche, il rendit son esprit entre les mains de Dieu.[2]

More frequently the soul is induced to come forth by persuasion, as in the second Bohairic account of the *Falling Asleep of Mary*:

> What then shall I say concerning the separation of the soul from the body? O that hour full of fear and trembling! They

[1] Pp. 122-3. The translation of M. Dulaurier is very similar. "L'un se tient debout près de la tête, l'autre auprès de ses pieds, dans l'attitude d'hommes qui de leurs mains frotteraient d'huile le mourant, jusqu'à ce que l'âme s'élève dégagée des liens du corps." The Arabic account of this vision (pp. 461-2), telling of the difference in rank of the angels, explains that the good soul must be taken gently. "Et Dieu fait cela, afin que ceux qui viennent pour faire sortir l'homme (de ce monde) le fassent avec douceur."

[2] Pp. 160-1. This rubbing of the body with oil at the hour of death suggests the sacrament of Extreme Unction. Cf. Amélineau's note and see below, pp. 95 ff.

say that two powers come after the soul, one of light, another of darkness, unseemly and full of shuddering and trembling. If it be a righteous soul, they bring it forth enticingly, being mild and gentle towards it, because they see its Maker peaceful towards it.[3]

or in the Syriac version of the *Visio Pauli*:

And those good angels ruled over that righteous one. And they drew out of him the soul, while alluring it with rest; and again they restored it to him, while inviting it and saying: "O soul, be assured, as for this thy body, O holy one, thou wilt return into it, in the resurrection; and thou wilt receive the promises of the living God with all the saints." Then that soul was carried from the body.[4]

This idea of saving the soul from the pains of a forced exit by persuading it to quit its body voluntarily leaves always the possibility that the soul may fail to respond to the persuasions of the angels. The soul's exit being made a matter of its own volition, one has to consider what would happen in case the soul refused to come forth. In this event, inasmuch as the angels are unwilling to inflict the pain of ejecting it by force, only one resource remains: the soul must be taken by strategy. These points are very clearly brought out in a passage from the *Vitae Patrum:*

Posthaec autem ingressus frater ille in civitatem, invenit hominem peregrinum jacentem in platea aegrotum, non habentem qui ei curam adhiberet; et mansit cum eo die una. Et cum venisset hora dormitionis ejus, conspicit frater ille Michaelem et Gabrielem descendentes propter animam ejus. Et sedens unus a dextris et alius a sinistris ejus, rogabant animam ejus, ut egrederetur foras: et non exibat, quasi nolens relinquere corpus suum. Dixit autem Gabriel ad Michaelem: Assume jam animam istam ut eamus. Cui

[3] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, pp. 95-7.

[4] P. 192. The Latin version (p. 16) contains little of the persuasion idea.

Michael respondit: Jussi sumus a Domino, ut sine dolore ejiciatur, ideoque non possumus cum vi evellere eam. Exclamavit ergo Michael voce magna dicens: Domine, quid vis de anima hac, quia non acquiescet nobis, ut egrediatur? Venit autem ei vox: Ecce mitto David cum cithara, et omnes Deo psallentes in Jerusalem, ut audiens psalmum ad vocem ipsorum egrediatur. Cumque descendissent omnes in circuitu animae illius cantantes hymnos, sic exiens anima illa sedit in manibus Michael, et assumpta est cum gaudio.[5]

The motive appears also in the *Testament of Abraham*. The prophet refuses to accompany Michael, who has been sent for his soul. At Michael's second coming Abraham asks that he may see the works of creation while yet in the flesh. His request is granted, but when the visit is ended he again refuses to follow Michael. Michael reports the matter to God, who summons Death and bids him assume a lovely form and go to Abraham and take his soul with all gentleness. Abraham, however, refuses to follow Death as he had refused to follow Michael, and causes delay by asking to see Death's true form, to be told its significance, and to know the various kinds of death. At last, Abraham growing weak, Death tells him to kiss his hand and he will feel better. Abraham kisses Death's hand, his soul cleaves thereto,[6] and he dies. Michael and a host of angels come and wrap the soul in a heaven-

[5] *P. L.* 73, 1012. Forbes Robinson in the notes to his translation of the Sahidic Fragments of the *Death of Joseph* (*Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 233) cites from Zoega's *Catalogue* (p. 344 f.) a Coptic version of this passage. Unfortunately he gives only a brief resumé of the first half (see p. 26). The incident of the good soul, however, which he translates in full, is the same as the *Vitae Patrum* version, and establishes indisputably the identity of the two accounts. Mr. Robinson makes no mention of the *Vitae Patrum* version.

[6] So Recension A; in Recension B Michael takes Abraham's soul "as in a dream." In the Arabic version Michael takes Abraham's soul, wraps it in white robes, and carries it away in his fiery chariot (James, p. 42).

spun cloth.[7] The soul of Job likewise is taken in an embrace.[8]

The angel Death is found again in the Coptic Apocryphal Gospels of the *Death of Joseph* and the *Falling Asleep of Mary*. These differ from the *Testament of Abraham* and from the other versions I have quoted in that death depends upon the actual physical presence of the angel Death. In each, however, the unwillingness to die is very prominent, and in each Jesus gives Death explicit instructions to guard the soul carefully and to deal gently with it.

XIX. I [Jesus] found him [Joseph] with the sign of death manifest in him. And I sat by his head, and My beloved mother sat by his feet. He lifted up his eyes to My face, and was not able to speak with Me, because the dumbness of death had dominion over him. He lifted his right hand, and he uttered this great and violent groan. He kept holding My right hand, looking steadfastly at Me for a great while, as if entreating Me and saying, O my Lord, suffer me not to be taken away. I put My hand in under his breast, and I found that his soul reached to his throat, for it was about to be brought up. And the messengers of death were waiting for him, that he should go forth from the body. But the last hour was not fulfilled: for when Death comes, he has no forbearance; for Confusion follows him, and Weeping and Destruction go before him.

XXI. Then I looked to the south of the door, and I saw Death. He came, Amente following him, who is the counsellor, and the villain, the devil from the beginning, many attendants of diverse aspects following him, all armed with fire, without number, brimstone and smoke of fire coming forth from their mouth. My father Joseph looked, and he saw those who came after him, being very wrathful, even as they burn with passion and anger towards every soul of man, that comes forth from the body, and especially a

[7] I have here been following the summary of Dr. James, pp. 35-42. The motive of the soul's refusal to die occurs prominently in Jewish and Mohammedan mythology, though I think borrowed from the Egyptian. Cf. Appendix A.

[8] *Dict. des Apocryphes*, II, 418.

sinful one, if they find a token of their own in him. When the good old man saw those who came after him, he was troubled, and he wept. The soul of My father Joseph wished to go forth with great disquietude, and was seeking a place to hide in, and found not a place. And when I saw the great trouble which befell the soul of My father Joseph, and that he beheld very diverse forms, fearful to look upon; I arose straightway, and rebuked him who is the instrument of the devil and the hosts which followed him. They fled in great shame. And no man among those who were gathered to My father Joseph knew, not even Mary My mother. Now when Death saw that I rebuked the powers of darkness which followed him, and put them forth, and that they had no power against My beloved father Joseph; Death was afraid, and fled, and hid himself behind the door.

Here follows Jesus' prayer for angels to guard the soul of Joseph to the other world.[9] The narrative then continues:

XXIII. Now it came to pass when I had said the Amen. . . . that straightway behold Michael and Gabriel and the choir of the angels came from heaven. They came, and stood by the body of My father Joseph. And straightway numbness and panting for breath rose against him exceedingly, and I knew that the burning hour was come. And he kept labouring as one about to bear a child, affliction pursuing after him as a violent wind, and as a great fire devouring a great wood. And as for Death also, fear did not suffer him to enter in unto the body of My beloved father Joseph, that he might separate it from the soul; for, looking in, he saw Me sitting by his head, having hold of his temples. And when I knew that Death feared to come in because of Me, I arose and went outside the porch, and I found him waiting alone in great fear. And straightway I said to him, O thou that hast come from the places of the south, get thee in quickly, and accomplish that which My Father hath commanded thee. But watch him as the light of thine eyes; for he is My father according to flesh. . . . Then Abaddon went in, and took the soul of My father Joseph, and brought it forth from the body at the hour when the sun was about to rise on its course, on the twenty-sixth of the month Epep, in peace.[10]

[9] See below, p. 67.

[10] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, pp. 155-9.

Michael and Gabriel then carry off the soul in a napkin "silken and precious," each one holding by two corners.

In the *Falling Asleep of Mary* Jesus tries to persuade Mary to die willingly by enumerating the joys and glories she will enjoy in heaven. In one of the fragments it is explicitly stated that such was the purpose of Jesus' speech:

> Now as the Savior was saying these things to His virgin mother, we knew that He was calling her to go forth from the body.[11]

When the time comes for her to die, Jesus, who has been sitting by her, leaves the room so that Death may enter in to her. When He went out,

> He looked up to heaven and groaned, and said, I have overcome thee, O Death, that dwellest in the storehouses of the south. Come, appear to My virgin mother, that she may see thee; for thou art he whom I set as king over all flesh. But let thy sting and thy victory be crushed within thee, till Mary My mother see thee no more. Afterwards devise thy fearful shape and thy sting and thy victory wherewith thou art clothed for ever. And moreover in a moment and in the twinkling of an eye, he appeared whose name is bitter with all men, even Death. It came to pass when she saw him with her eyes, her soul leaped forth from her body into the bosom of her beloved Son.[12]

Jesus then wraps it in fine linen and gives it to Michael to guard until He shall have arranged for the disposition of her body.

2. The Extraction of the Evil Soul

Of the evil soul, on the other hand, no such care is taken. It is no less loath than the good soul to leave its body: but though it refuses to die, its refusal is not

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

heeded. Inasmuch as it is the soul of a sinner, there is no reason for showing kindness and making its forced exit easy; rather, suffering and pain are its due. Accordingly it is snatched forth in haste and anger, as painfully as possible. Even physical instruments are employed for this purpose.

In the Coptic *Life of Pachomius* these instruments are the whip and the hook.

Si une âme est mauvaise, par suite de ses actions, au moment où on la visitera, deux Anges sans pitié viennent à elle; lorsque l'homme est proche de la mort et qu'il ne connaît plus personne, l'un des Anges sans pitié se tient à sa tête, et l'autre à ses pieds, ils se mettent (alors) ainsi à le fouetter jusqu'à ce que sa pauvre âme soit sur le point de sortir du (corps). Ils lui mettent ensuite dans la bouche quelque chose de recourbé comme un hameçon, afin de tirer sa malheureuse âme en haut de son corps, et ils la trouvent ténébreuse et tout à fait noire.[13]

In the passage from the *Vitae Patrum* it is the trident which is employed:

[13] P. 127. The continuation of this passage offers interesting comment on it and on the vision of the departure of a good soul quoted on page 19. "Mais une foule d'hommes bons endurent ces souffrances pendant la maladie où on les visitera et à l'heure où ils rendront leurs esprits; ils ressemblent à un mets que l'on fait cuire, qui a besoin d'être cuit au feu avant qu'on le mange: il en est ainsi des fidèles que l'on passe au creuset à leurs derniers moments, avant qu'ils n'aient fini leur vie, afin qu'ils soient exempts de tout péché et purs en présence de Dieu. Nous trouvons cependant quelques saints qui ont été dans les souffrances à l'heure où ils se sont reposés, comme Étienne, les autres martyres et tous ceux qui leur ressemblent; . . . . au contraire, une foule de pécheurs meurent dans le repos, ils n'endurent aucune souffrance en ce monde à cause des afflictions et des châtiments qui leur sont préparés, ainsi qu'il est écrit: 'On garde l'impie pour le jour mauvais.'" In other words the writer recognizes that the departure of a good or an evil soul as described earlier is inconsistent with the ideas of the martyrs so popular at that time. This is entirely in accord with our thesis that the ideas of the vision are but relics of an older time.

Facta autem exitus ejus hora, vidit frater ille tartaricum inferni descendentem super solitarium illum, habentem tridentem igneum, et audivit vocem dicentem: Sicut anima ista non me fecit quiescere, neque una hora in se, sic neque tu miserearis ejus evellens eam. Deponens igitur tartaricus ille quem tenebat tridentem igneum in cor solitarii illius, per multas horas torquens eum, abstraxit animam ejus.[14]

The same instruments, the sharp-pointed spears, are used in the *Eulogy of Pisentios.* The iron knives are met with for the first time. Notice also that the dying man sees Death just before his soul leaves his body, as in the Apocrypha of Mary and of Joseph. Though it is not expressly stated that the soul can not leave its body until it sees Death, this appearance of Death probably belongs to the same line of tradition.

Lorsque je me suis trouvé à la nécessité de la mort, il m'est arrivé que les *gouverneurs du monde* furent les premiers à venir autour de moi, ils dirent toutes les fautes que j'avais faites, et ils me disaient: "Qu'on vienne maintenant, qu'on te sauve des tourments où l'on va te jeter." Ils avaient à la main des couteaux de fer et des broches de fer pointues comme des lances aiguisées, qu'ils enfonçaient dans mes flancs, grinçant des dents contre moi. Peu de temps après mes yeux s'ouvrirent, je vis la mort planant dans l'air sous une multitude de formes. En ce moment les anges sans pitié emmenèrent ma malheureuse âme hors de mon corps.[15]

The idea of the pain inflicted on the soul is most prominent in the second Bohairic account of the *Falling Asleep of Mary.*

If indeed it be a sinner, the powers of light withdraw themselves, and the powers of darkness draw nigh to it in anger, slaying them and hastily cleaving asunder and scourging them, grinding their teeth and sending forth flames of fire from their mouths into its face, knowing that its needs are unseemly, and that God is not at peace with it.[16]

[14] *P. L.* 73, 1012.
[15] Pp. 147-8.
[16] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 97.

In the *Martyrdom of St. Macarius of Antioch,* a man whom Macarius raises from the dead relates that his soul was 'torn from him with great ferocity.'[17] Hardly more explicit is the *Visio Pauli:*

> Those evil angels took the rule over it, and pulled it out in severe anger and haste. And when it went out, they turned it back three times, saying unto it: "Look, O miserable soul, upon thy body, and think of thy house; as for that from which thou departest, again wilt thou return unto it, in the day of the resurrection, and thou wilt be recompensed, all that is proper, for thy wickedness." And when they pulled it out, that daring one groaned in bitterness.[18]

In several other texts, though the actual separation of the soul from the body is not described, we may believe that the soul was taken forcibly as in the passages cited above. Thus, in the *Apocalypse of Elias* the angels who take the souls of godless men are described as carrying fiery whips in their hands.[19] In a passage in the *Vitae Patrum,* following the ones quoted, an old man sees some black horses on which are black and terrible beings who have come to take the soul of a sinner: each one carries a fiery rod in his hands.[20] And in the

[17] Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte,* Paris, 1886, p. 56.

[18] P. 194. The Syriac version is again more detailed than the Latin, and more in accord with the Coptic texts.—I do not understand why the soul should be turned back to the body. This occurs also in the case of the good soul. If the removal of the soul from the body was thought painful, the turning back of the evil soul becomes, of course, by the repetition, a form of torment. But why, then, should the good soul be turned back? In no case is the departure of the soul pictured as pleasant. May it not be an early form of the motive of the soul's farewell to the body? See Chapter VI, p. 106, n. 41.

[19] Ed. Steindorff, p. 150. See below, p. 40.

[20] *P. L.* 73, 1012. Mr. Robinson summarizes only the passage just before this; I am not certain, therefore, that this paragraph is in the Coptic.

Spurious Homily of Macarius the 'inclement angels' beat the souls of the unbaptized as they remove them from their bodies.[21]

3. The Conception of the Soul in Ancient Egypt

The most striking characteristic of this belief is the concreteness of the conception of the soul. It has a physical reality quite independent of the body: it can be torn from the body with spears, or pulled out with hooks. Even the good soul, though less obviously physical than the evil soul, is represented as wrapped in white cloths, and sitting in the hands of Michael. This conception is entirely foreign to the two non-Egyptian religions which would have been most likely to influence Christian beliefs in Egypt, the Hebrew and the Greek. Both were more vague and much less material. With the Jews the soul was originally identified with the blood;[22] the Greeks conceived of the soul as the breath.[23]

On the other hand, exact parallels are found in Egyptian mythology. The soul or *bai* which parted from the body at the moment of death had a definite form, usually that of a human-headed hawk. It is often pictured in the representations of the other world: frequently a man is pictured with his *bai,* holding it in his arms, or riding with it on the back of a bull.[24] The existence of the *bai* as a concrete, physical entity apart from the man or the body, is thus indisputable. A striking example of the "life" as a concrete something which could be removed

[21] *P. G.* 34, 391. See below, p. 77.

[22] Charles, *Eschatology,* p. 37. See below, note 25 and Appendix A.

[23] Rohde, *Psyche,* II, 319 ff.; *et passim.*

[24] Cf. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization,* pp. 179, 183, 187, etc.

from the body physically is found in the *Tale of the Two Brothers* of the Nineteenth Dynasty.[25] In it the younger brother draws out his own heart, or soul, and places it for safe-keeping on an acacia flower. One remembers, too, the *Dialogue Between an Egyptian and his Soul,* which dates from about 2000 B. C.[26]

In another poem we approach even nearer to the belief we are tracing, since in it we find the idea of a physical separation from the body—though not this time a separation of the soul or life, but of the name, or heart, or power. It is found in a papyrus of the Twentieth Dynasty, though the events related belong to the legendary history of Egypt. When the great god Ra had become old and feeble, he had given away all his talismans except his secret name. Isis then resolved to get it from him by treachery, that by the power of his name she might make herself a goddess and the equal of Ra. Accordingly she first caused a magical snake to bite him; and when Ra asked her to remove the poison, she demanded his secret name, asserting that only by this name could she exorcise the demon of the poison.

[25] Translated by Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, II, 36 ff; and by Maspero, *Les Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 3rd ed., pp. 1 ff. On the question of the separable soul see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., London, 1900, III, 351 ff. Mr. S. B. Slack (*Early Christianity*, p. 43) says that this conception of the separable soul underlies *Ezekiel*, XIII, 18-21. This is, I think, the only passage in the Bible which refers definitely to a tangible soul.

[26] Erman, *Abh. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1896. The purport of this dialogue is not very plain; Dr. Erman thinks that the man is summoning death while his soul is dissuading him from suicide. Professor Maspero, on the other hand, has expressed the opinion that the man is discoursing on the terrors of the future life, and is being reassured by his soul (*New Light on Ancient Egypt*, chap. XIII, 109 ff.).

Le venin brûlait comme du feu:
il était plus fort que flamme et que fournaise.
La Majesté de Ra dit:
"je consens à être fouillé par Isis,
(et à ce que) mon nom passe de mon sein dans son sein."[27]

Again, this belief seems to betray its Egyptian origin through the emphasis that it places upon fear of the world after death. The soul is unwilling to die, therefore external means are used to bring it forth. This unwillingness to die arises chiefly from a fear of the world after death; in many texts it is directly connected with an expression of such fear. This fear, moreover, was very characteristic of early Christian Egypt. The Egyptians had dreaded the other world for centuries before Christ, and they continued to do so after the introduction of Christianity. Consequently we find this fear expressed in Christian Egypt from the earliest times, whereas, in other nations it was a later growth. For the Latin races the cer-

[27] E. Lefébure, *Un Chapitre de la Chronique solaire*, *Ägypt. Zeitschrift*, 21 (1883), 30. Cf. *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 160 ff. The idea of the soul's being caught on hooks as in the Pisentios episode is also a very primitive one, and I judge, wide-spread. Mr. Frazer in the *Golden Bough* notes the presence of it among the Malays, though with them the purpose is to keep the soul from departing from the body. "The soul is commonly supposed to escape by the natural openings of the body, especially, the mouth and nostrils. Hence in Celebes they sometimes fasten fish-hooks to a sick man's nose, navel, and feet, so that if his soul should try to escape it may be hooked and held fast. When a Sea Dyak sorcerer, or medicine-man, is initiated, his fingers are supposed to be furnished with fish-hooks, with which he will thereafter clutch the human soul in the act of flying away, and restore it to the body of the sufferer" (I, 251). Mr. Frazer also cites many instances of savage beliefs kindred to our Egyptian beliefs: the soul goes out by the natural openings of the body, the eyes, ears, etc.— In Plutarch's discourse concerning Socrates's Daemon the visionary imagined he felt a sharp stroke on the head, the sutures of his skull parted and his soul flew out.

tainty of a future life was the all-important fact of Christianity: it filled their minds so completely, no room was left for any speculation about its possible unpleasantness. The dominant note in their early literature is, therefore, a gladness and joyousness, quite in contrast to the Egyptian unwillingness to die. The Syrian Christians, on the other hand, were able to meet death only with a kind of Epicurean indifference. There was a future life, but it was neither greatly desired nor greatly dreaded. The only consolation for death was that it was inevitable. And this again was an attitude differing markedly from that of our Egyptian texts.[28]

[28] Cf. Revillout, *Les Prières pour les Morts*, *Rev. Égypt*, IV, 1 ff.

III

THE ANGELS BY WHOM SOULS ARE REMOVED

The beliefs about the angels who remove the souls of men underwent several distinct stages of development. In all the early texts, these angels are servants of the higher power, whether they are described as beautiful or as hideous, whether the souls they are taking be those of just men or of sinners. According to what seems the original tradition, the duty of removing souls rested with an angel, or a class of angels, who belonged to an inferior order and who on that account had only limited power over the souls they were taking, especially if these were souls which had been favored by God.

1. The Angel of Death

In the Coptic Gospels of the deaths of Mary and Joseph, and in the *Testament of Abraham* a single angel, Death, removes the souls of all men. In each of the two first mentioned Apocrypha the soul cannot leave its body until it see Death. He is represented as very hideous, the sight of him is fearful, he is the consort of Amenti and the devils, but he is the servant of God, he is the one whom Jesus "set as king over all flesh." Even Jesus is obliged to recognize his power, in allowing His father and mother to see him, and in suffering the pains of death on the cross. Nevertheless, Death remains a distinctly inferior angel: he cannot enter where Jesus is. He has no power over the souls he takes. Thus the soul of Joseph as soon as it had been removed by him was

received by Michael and Gabriel, and evil souls were promptly seized by the devil and his followers. Moreover, though Jesus gives Death power over the souls of Mary and Joseph to remove them from their bodies, He does so with the command that Death must deal gently with them. In the *Falling Asleep of Mary,* Jesus seems to be commanding Death to change his hideous aspect for Mary's greater comfort, when He says: "But let thy sting and thy victory be crushed within thee, till Mary My mother see thee no more. Afterwards devise thy fearful shape and thy sting and thy victory wherewith thou art clothed forever." [1]

This is the picture of Death as it appears in two of the best Coptic accounts of the gospels in question, and because they are consistent with each other and, as we shall see, with other Coptic documents, I take them to be the accounts which represent most truly the Coptic tradition. In the other Coptic versions of these gospels the duties and powers of Death vary. In the Bohairic *Death of Joseph*—which according to the editor gives a later form of the story than the Sahidic version I have been quoting [2]—Death does not have to separate the soul from the body, for, when he has been rebuked by Jesus he does not return: Michael and Gabriel, apparently, take Joseph's soul; the text says only that "he gave up his spirit." [3] The Arabic version, however, is explicit; Michael and Gabriel take Joseph's soul.[4]

[1] See above, p. 24.

[2] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, p. xvi.

[3] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 141. This version is very explicit in its statements that Death is a servant of God. Thus compare for example: "But death is not to blame, like Adam and his wife: and death does nothing without the command of My Father" (pp. 143-4).

[4] Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha,* 2nd ed., pp. 122-39, chap. XXIII.

Mr. Robinson prints two accounts of the *Falling Asleep of Mary* other than the one I have quoted. In the first, the story of Mary's death is only an abbreviated form of the passage quoted in Chapter II. Nothing, however, is said of the presence of Michael, the actual departure of Mary's soul, or of the disposition made of it.[5] In the remaining version we find a change similar to that we noticed in the Bohairic *Joseph.* When the prayer of Mary to Jesus was ended:

> Behold there were thunderings and lightnings, and all the place was moved to its foundations. And there appeared in our midst the Lord Jesus, riding on a chariot of light, Moses being before Him and all the rest of the prophets, David the king and the righteous kings.[6]

Jesus Himself then took Mary's soul.

The character of the angel Death in the *Testament of Abraham* is fundamentally the same as in the *Death of Joseph,* and the *Falling Asleep of Mary.* There are, however, several differences which concern us.[7] In the first place Death does not necessarily visit all men, for God sends Michael to take Abraham's soul, and only when Michael has failed is Death called upon. Moreover, the idea of changing the appearance of Death that it may be in conformity with the soul to be taken—which we found hinted at in the *Falling Asleep of Mary*—is here explicitly stated. He appears to Abraham as an archangel, and tells Abraham that he always comes in this form to the just. To the sinful he appears in a horrible shape. His natural form is a very hideous one,

[5] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, pp. 75-7. Mr. Robinson does not express an opinion as to the relative dates of these three versions.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[7] I shall first discuss Recension A, which Dr. James (*Test. Abr.*, p. 49) considers the version most faithful to the original account.

showing " seven dragon-heads and fourteen faces, fire, darkness, viper, precipice, asp, lion, horned-snake, basilisk," etc.[8] When Death has removed the soul, Michael and a host of angels come for it as in the Mary and Joseph gospels.

The two other recensions of the *Testament,* in their differences from this recension (A), correspond to the differences already noted in the other Coptic accounts containing the angel Death. In Recension B, Michael takes Abraham's soul as in a dream, and carries it to Heaven. In the Arabic version "Michael takes Abraham's soul, wraps it in white robes and carries it away in his fiery chariot. The angels meet it and escort it to Paradise." [9]

2. A Special Class of Angels Appointed to Remove Souls

In the *Pistis Sophia* there is a special class of angels who remove souls. They are called " Pacific Receivers "[10] and in many ways they correspond to the angel of Death. They are nowhere described, so we cannot say whether they were hideous or not. Their relative inferiority,

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 42. The Roumanian version (MSS. 18th and 19th cents.) shows a different development from Recension A. Death bids Abraham kiss his hand, as in the Greek text. " But Death, when he gave him his hand, gave him also the cup with the poison of death " (Gaster, " The Apocalypse of Abraham," *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology,* 9 (1886), 225). This change is probably due to Hebrew influence. Cf. Appendix A.

[10] Amélineau translates " Receveurs pacifiques," Mead, " receivers of wrath." Schwartze and Schmidt print without translation the Greek, ἐριναῖοι παραλῆμπται, though Schmidt in a note suggests as a probable emendation, ἐριναῖοι, ' friedlich ' (p. 145, n. 28).

however, is shown in the varying degrees of power they possess over the souls they remove. Thus, Jesus tells His disciples that when the "Receivers" remove a soul which has received the mystery, it shall emit a light so great the "Receivers" shall become afraid and fall before it; they shall not be able to lay hold on it, and the soul unhindered shall mount on high.[11] These "Receivers," however, would, it seems, be able to retain possession of the good soul which has not received the mystery, but it is taken from them and shown the creatures of the world by the "Receivers of the light of the great triple power, among whom there is one great one."[12] It is hardly necessary to call attention to the close parallel here to the apocrypha in which Death appears. Death, or the "Pacific Receivers," must be present to remove the soul, but it is immediately taken from him (or them) by the angels of a higher order. In the case of the evil man the "Pacific Receivers" retain possession of the soul after they have removed it from the body and themselves conduct it through the world.[13]

In the fourth book of the *Pistis Sophia*, to which Schmidt assigns an earlier date than to the first three,[14] the "Receivers" correspond more nearly to the angel Death in the *Testament of Abraham*. The angels who take the souls are not all called by the same name,

[11] Pp. 226-7. Tr. Amélineau, p. 116. The translations of Schwartze, Mead, and Schmidt retain the pagination of Schwartze's Coptic text. I shall therefore refer to those three translations by the one page number adding a reference to the corresponding page of Amélineau's translation.

[12] Pp. 261-2. Tr. Amélineau, p. 135.

[13] P. 284. Tr. Amélineau, p. 147.

[14] Introduction to his translation of the *Pistis Sophia*, p. xvii. This part of the *Pistis Sophia* is entitled by Amélineau and Mead, *Extract from the Books of the Savior.*

"Pacific Receivers," but are known as the "Receivers" of the different powers, according to the sins the soul has committed.[15] The soul of the slanderer is taken by the "Receivers of Ariel," the soul of the murderer is taken by the "Receivers of Ialdabaôth," and so on. The soul of the man who has not sinned but who has not received the mystery is taken by the "Receivers of Bainchôôôch, who is one of the triple-powered gods." Are not these the same as the "Receivers of the light of the grand triple power, among whom there is one great one"? If so, we have a change exactly parallel to those changes which had taken place in the three texts studied earlier—the good soul is removed from its body by the higher orders who, in other versions, take the soul from those whose unique privilege it was to remove souls. The parallel extends further, however. In the *Testament of Abraham* Death changes his appearance and his manner of taking the soul in accordance with its character, appearing beautiful to the good and hideous to the sinful. In this part of the *Pistis Sophia* distinctions are not lacking. The souls of most sinners are taken by the "Receivers," who then pass three days on earth, teaching it the creatures of the world. The soul of the murderer, however, is tied by its feet to a demon having the face of a horse, which gallops with it through the world. The soul of the blasphemer is tied by its tongue to a similar horse-faced demon. Moreover, the just soul is led from its body with joy and gladness, and the "Receivers" spend the three days on earth teaching it the creatures of the world with joy and gladness.[16]

[15] Pp. 379 ff. Tr. Amélineau, pp. 197 ff.

[16] Documentary evidence does not bear out all these points. The *Testament of Abraham* is older than the Mary and Joseph Apocrypha, and the last book of the *Pistis Sophia* is reckoned older than the first three, though I take the angel Death of the Mary and Joseph gospels and the "Pacific Receivers" to be the more primitive

In the Spurious Homily of Macarius the angels who remove souls are described as "inclement angels."

Cum mittuntur angeli animam seu justi seu injusti accepturi, timore tremit ista, ipsamque terribilium et inclementium angelorum praesentiam exhorrescit.[17]

Angeli inclementes animas non baptizatas e corpore accipiunt.[18]

They are hideous, they inspire all with fear and dread, and contrary to the other texts, retain possession of all souls after removing them.[19] Indeed there is but one slight indication that they had not the same power over all souls alike. They beat the pagan soul in removing it; in the case of baptized souls, on the other hand, this is not stated—only their fear and dread are dwelt upon.

3. The Beautiful Angels and the Hideous Angels

A third tradition states that beautiful angels are appointed to take good souls and hideous angels to take evil souls[20]. This tradition seems to me later than the

type. There are several reasons why I do so. In the first place, popular beliefs change slowly and at different times in different places, so we may not unnaturally find the older belief in the later document. Moreover a change very similar to that I am urging here, has taken place in those versions of the *Testament of Abraham* and of the two Coptic gospels which are acknowledged of later date, so the documentary evidence is itself contradictory. Fundamentally also, the idea of a messenger of death who appears awful to all men is older and less Christian than that of a messenger who distinguishes between the good and the evil.

[17] *P. G.*, 34, 387. [18] *Ibid.*, 34, 391.

[19] This is certain only in the case of souls unbaptized. The narrative is interrupted by Macarius' questions so that one cannot be certain that the angels who remove the souls are the ones who conduct them through heaven and hell. There is no reason, however, for supposing that they were different.

[20] The Koran says there are "angels who tear forth the souls

belief in the one inferior angel or in the inferior band of angels appointed to take all souls, and to be an outgrowth of that belief, as I have tried to show in my study of the different forms in which that belief appears. In fact we have practically the new belief in the *Testament of Abraham* where Death appears in his varying shapes of beauty and hideousness, and more nearly in the *Pistis Sophia* where the good souls are taken by the "Receivers" of a higher order and sinful souls are taken by the "Receivers" of a lower order.

The Coptic *Life of Pachomius* is a good text to begin with because we have here the distinctions in the angels corresponding to the character of the moribund just as in the *Testament of Abraham* and in the *Pistis Sophia.*

Et voici comment les Anges de lumière visitent les frères de bonne conduite, comme on le lui révéla une foule de fois de la part du Seigneur. Si c'est un homme bon qui est couché, trois Anges viennent à lui selon le dégré de la conduite de celui qui est couché, s'il est élevé dans ses actions on lui envoie de même des Anges élevés et glorieux pour le conduire à Dieu; s'il est petit en ses vertus, on lui envoie de même des Anges inférieurs. Dieu fait cela afin que les Anges qui vont vers l'homme pour le faire sortir du corps le fassent avec une bonne longanimité, de peur que s'il envoyait des Anges élevés vers un homme inférieur en ses actions, ils ne le traitassent selon la manière propre aux puissances de la terre; car celles-ci font acception des personnes, en raison de la richesse et de la vaine gloire, et ceux qui sont abjects parmi les pauvres, elles les traitent en raison du mépris qu'elles ont pour leur pauvreté. Mais les puissances de Dieu font toute chose selon un jugement vrai d'après l'ordre du Seigneur et le mérite des œuvres que l'homme a faites. Or, ces trois Anges qui sont envoyés vers l'homme, on les trouve plus élevés les uns que les autres dans la dignité du rang, obéissant à celui qui est plus élevé qu'eux, selon la hiérarchie.[21]

of some with violence and . . . those who draw forth the souls of others with gentleness" (Tr. Sale, chap. LXXIX). In this connection one might compare the legend recorded in Wolff's *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig, 1872, pp. 55-7.

[21] Pp. 121-2.

The narrative ends with the description, quoted in the preceding chapter, of the exit of a good, and of an evil soul. There are, it will be remembered, three angels who surround the righteous man's death-bed, and two "angels without pity" who extract the sinner's soul. The difference in number, however, does not imply a difference in tradition, for only two of the three angels are concerned with the removal of the soul: the third stands ready to receive it in a cloth. The three angels who are "greater one above the other in the dignity of rank," should be compared with the *Pistis Sophia* "Receivers of the light of the great triple power, among whom there is one great one." And the "angels without pity" correspond very closely to Macarius' "inclement angels." These "angels without pity" should be noted, too, because they seem to be a class by themselves, whereas the angels who come for the good soul may be only the angels of the hierarchy of heaven. And exactly the same phraseology, is met with in the *Visio Pauli* where we have distinctly the two classes of angels.

The fragmentary *Apocalypse of Elias* presents the angels who take souls in a new way, their physical appearance is described. Elias is being conducted through heaven by an angel:

Ich aber ging weiter mit dem Engel des Herrn, blickte vor mich und sah dort einen Ort, durch den tausend mal Tausend und zehntausend mal Zehntausend Engel hindurchgingen, deren Gesicht wie das eines Panthers war, deren Zähne aus ihrem Munde herausstanden wie die der Bären, während ihre Augen blutunterlaufen waren und ihr Haar aufgelöst wie Frauenhaar, und brennende Geisseln sich in ihren Händen befanden. Als ich sie aber gesehen hatte, bekam ich Furcht und sprach zu jenem Engel, der mit mir ging: "Wer sind diese also?" Er erwiderte mir: "Dies sind die Diener der ganzen Schöpfung, welche zu der Seelen der Gottlosen kommen, sie entführen und hier niederlegen.[2]

[2] Ed. Steindorff, p. 150. These fragments belong, properly speak-

No corresponding description of the angels who visit good souls has come down to us[23]. It is very probable, however, that they figured in one of the fragments now lost, because both classes of angels are found in the *Visio Pauli*, and the description of the angels who take evil souls seems to have been influenced by the passage just quoted from the *Apocalypse of Elias*.

Et iterum respexi et uidi angelos sine misericordia, nullam habentes pietatem, quorum uultus plenus erat furore et dentes eorum extra os eminentes; oculi eorum fulgebant ut stella matutina orientis, et de capillis capitis eorum scintille ignis exiebant, siue de ore eorum.

Paul asks who they are and the angel answers:

Hii sunt qui destinantur ad animas impiorum in ora necessitatis, qui non crediderunt dominum habere se adiutorem nec sperauerunt in eum.

And again,

Respexi in altum et uidi alios angelos quorum uultus fulgebat ut sol, succinctis lumbis zonis aureis, abentes palmas in manibus eorum, et signum dei, induti uestimenta quod scriptum erat nomen filii dei, repleti autem omni mansuetudine et misericordia.

Paul asks who these are, and is answered:

Hii sunt angeli iusticiae qui mittuntur adducere animas iustorum in ora necessitatis, qui crediderunt dominum se habere adiutorem.[24]

ing, not to the *Apocalypse of Elias* but to some unknown apocalypse. Compare the descriptions of the New Testament *Apocalypse* IX, 7-8.

[23] When Elias expresses his fear of these hideous messengers of death the angel tells him not to fear, that he is pure before the Lord. This is a hint, at least, that the good souls were not visited by the hideous angels, in other words that there were classes among the angels who took the souls of men.

[24] P. 15. The Syriac version offers no important variations.

4. The Angels and the Demons

The last stage we have to note in the development of this tradition might have been foretold. When once the cruel, hideous servants of God lost their power over the good and were restricted in their operations to sinful souls, they became identified with the demons. It was inevitable that this change should take place. The Christian Copts believed in a world peopled with demons and angels, almost as really, and almost as extensively as with human beings. They were present all the time; the slightest action could be traced to the direct influence of the one or the other of these supernatural forces, inherently at war. The angels were always good and kind and merciful, anxious to satisfy the desires of men—even, at times, to the point of gratifying the idle curiosity of the monks. The demons were always present, but to seduce, to deceive. In the world of spirits, and one might say, of morals in general, the Copts recognized but two classes, and but two forces. The one was entirely good, the other entirely evil. The one was the help and comfort of the good, rewarding them at last in heaven; the other was the curse and punishment of the evil. Amid such conceptions an angel cruel and hideous, who punished the wicked, was a contradiction in terms. Was a being beautiful? Did it inspire the good? Did it gratify their wishes? It was an angel. Was it, on the contrary, ugly and cruel? Did it punish the wicked? It was a demon.

In the angels who took the souls of the just, the change was of course less marked and less important. They had been angels of God before and such they remained. There was a decided tendency, however, for them to become less impersonal and abstract, and to be identified with the well-

known and popular angels of the other relations of life. So the angels who were created for the purpose of taking the souls of the just, gave way to Michael and Gabriel.

The passage which I quoted from the *Vitae Patrum*[25] furnishes an example of the transition stage. A demon takes the soul, but he retains definite angel characteristics. Thus, he is described as a *tartaricus inferni*. Nevertheless he is conceived to be a servant of God, for when he begins to tear out the soul, a voice comes from heaven approving and giving instructions. It should be noticed, too, that in the paragraph about the good soul it is Michael and Gabriel who come to woo it forth. In the passage just following, the black and terrible beings who come for the soul taunt it when it cries to the Lord for help: "Do you remember God now when the sun is obscured? Why did you not seek Him while you had yet the light of day? In this hour there is no hope of consolation for you."[26]

In the twenty-second homily of Macarius the Great, the change from the angels to the demons is completed:

"Quando egreditur e corpore anima hominis, mysterium quoddam magnum illic perficitur. Si enim fuerit rea peccati, accedunt chori daemonum, et angeli sinistri, ac potestates tenebrarum, abripiunt animam illam, atque subjugatam in suas partes pertrahunt: nec debet quis propterea velut re quapiam insolita in admirationem duci. Si enim, dum viveret homo, et in hoc sæculo degeret, illis subjectus fuit et obtemperavit, ac servus illorum factus est, quanto magis cum egreditur ex mundo, detinetur ac subjugatur ab ipsis? Ex parte autem, quæ melioris est conditionis, potes cognoscere, rem ita sese habere. Sanctis siquidem servis Dei ab hoc tempore astant angeli, ac Spiritus sancti circumdant, easque custodiunt. Cumque exierint e corpore, chori angelorum assumptas eorum animas in suam partem pertrahunt, in saeculum perpetuum, et sic adducunt eos ad Dominum."[27]

[25] See above, p. 26.

[26] See above, p. 27 and note 20.

[27] *P. G.* 34, 659.

It is not necessary however to multiply instances of this final stage of the tradition. Demons and angels around death-beds are commonplaces.

5. The Deaths of the Saints

There are, nevertheless, certain conventional accounts of saints' deaths which demand attention, because they might not seem, at first sight, connected with this particular tradition. They result, I think, from the obvious tendency to extravagance in the saints' lives, and from the desire of each biographer to make his saint seem greater than any who had gone before. The substitution of Michael and Gabriel for the nameless angels whose duty it was to take souls, is the first step. Sometimes Jesus Himself is made to come. Soon the archangels are accompanied by the heavenly hosts. Then, as the desire to honor the saints increases, host after host is called upon, until at last we have the whole hierarchy of heaven surrounding the death-bed of a saint. In the meantime the original purpose of the angels' presence—the removal of the soul—is forgotten: instead, we have only the triumphant death of the saint amid a blaze of glory while the orders of angels rejoice and sing alleluias.[28]

[28] In these versions there may also be an influence of the average death-bed scene, the dying man being surrounded by his friends and relatives, or if he was a monk, by his fellow-monks and the officers of the church. These death-bed scenes are usually set down as imitations of the Lazarus story (*Luke*, XVI, 22) and there can be no doubt but that it must have played a large part in their development. Only, it seems to me that the angels in that story must have had some more or less definite meaning either for the author of the story, or for the imitators. I mean that the angels were probably thought of as being there to remove the soul, to honor it, or more probably, to protect it on the way to heaven. See below, p. 66, note 28.

In the *Testament of Job* the scene remains comparatively simple, though we have most of the elements of the later versions. Job sees the holy angels who are coming for his soul, thereupon he gives musical instruments to his daughters, who begin to sing and play and glorify God.

Ensuite celui qui était monté sur un grand char descendit, et il embrassa Job à la vue de ses trois filles, et les autres ne le virent point, et il prit l'âme de Job et il s'enleva en l'emportant, et il la fit placer sur le char, et il prit sa route vers l'orient.[29]

Compare this description with that of the death of St. Maximus:

"Levez-vous, sortons d'ici, car voici que les apôtres et les prophètes sont venus pour m'emmener d'ici." Du reste il se tut. Quelque temps après, le saint abba Macaire vit le chœur des saints venus le chercher; aussitôt abba Macaire se leva, il se tint debout silencieux. . . . Et le bienheureux Maxime parlait avec l'un des saints, l'interrogeant sur le nom des saints qui l'entouraient; pour nous, nous n'entendîmes point ce qu'il disait; mais le pneumatophore abba Macaire nous informa, disant: "On lui apprend les noms des saints qui l'entourent." Et lorsque son âme eût joui de la présence des saints, aussitôt elle s'élança avec joie hors du corps.[30]

But the references are too long and too numerous to be quoted entire. Besides, they are very much alike. The patriarchs with the prophets, the apostles and the archbishops, the archmandrites with all the saints, and at last Christ Himself, with His angels, came to take the soul of Schnoudi.[31] Michael and Gabriel took the soul of Mark.[32] Michael with the angelic battalions came for the soul of St. Euphemia, mounted on a chariot which had the form of a boat.[33] Jesus, riding upon a chariot

[29] *Dict. des Apocryphes*, II, 418.
[30] *Musée Guimet*, XXV, 306-7.
[31] *Mission au Caire*, IV, 90.
[32] *Contes et Romans*, II, 70.
[33] *Ibid.*, I, 44-5. In the Egyptian funeral processions the mummy was placed in a boat which was carried on a wagon, or chariot.

of light, came from heaven with thousands of angels for the soul of Isaac of Tiphre. Stopping the chariot above the holy man He cried: "Come up to Me, O beloved Isaac, and I will give unto thee the wages of the recompense for the sufferings which thou hast endured for My Name."[34] He is also said to have received the soul of St. George of Cappadocia, while Michael, displaced thus from his usual rôle, used his cloth to catch the blood and milk which flowed from the martyr's wound.[35] When Macarius of Tkôou was killed, he was carried to the *martyrium* of St. John the Baptist and Elisha the prophet; a young boy in the crowd saw these two saints embracing and kissing Macarius, after the manner of brothers.[36] In the *Life of Jean Kolobos* we find that "there came to him crowds of angels, and the choir of all the saints sent by God . . . that they might lead their companion from service."[37] St. Macarius of Antioch bade his executioner hurry, for Jesus and His angels were even then urging him to join them.[38] The souls of various other saints were seen by people on earth as they passed through the air, either escorted by glad companies of angels, or meeting with them.[39] This welcome of the soul by the angelic hosts appears to have been the regular custom. Indeed, in one instance we read of a band of

[34] Budge, *The Martyrdom of Isaac of Tiphre, Society of Biblical Archæology*, IX, 1886, p. 88. The chariot used to carry away the soul is found also in the Syriac *Departure of my Lady Mary* (Wright, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 4th Series, VII, 141), and in the Greek *Story and Conversion of Adam* (cf. article on the Books of Adam in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*).

[35] Budge, *St. George of Cappadocia*, p. 323. *Oriental Text Series*, I, London, 1888.

[36] *Mission au Caire*, IV, 158. [37] *Musée Guimet*, XXV, 400.

[38] Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, p. 68.

[39] Cf. *P. L.*, 73, 153; 167; 218-9; 258-9; 272; 1166-7; 1172.

martyrs about to set out with palms, perfumed boughs, and radiant garments to meet a soul which they expected to achieve martyrdom, although at the last moment they discovered that it had failed to do so.[40]

An interesting example of this tendency to surround the holy with all the angels is found in a thirteenth century manuscript of the passage from the *Vitae Patrum*.[41] In the Latin version, as printed by Migne, which agrees throughout with the Coptic, David is sent with all the harpers of Israel to woo forth the soul:

Cum descendissent omnes in circuitu animae illius cantantes hymnos, sic exiens anima illa sedit in manibus Michael, et assumpta est cum gaudio.

In the manuscript of the thirteenth century this passage reads as follows:

Cumque descendissent omnes patriarche ac prophete, simulque apostoli et martyres, confessores, uirgines ac monachi cum multitudine anglorum in circuitu anime, ei canentes psalmis et hymnis et canticis; sic exit anima illa seditque in sinu Michael, et assumpta est cum gaudio magno.[42]

6. The Egyptian Genii

The figure of Death as it appears in the Coptic gospels of the *Falling Asleep of Mary* and the *Death of Joseph*, and the band of "Pacific Receivers" in the *Pistis Sophia* represent, as I have said, the most primitive type of the angels who remove souls.[43] To them the genii of the

[40] *Mission au Caire*, IV, 190-194.

[41] Bib. Nat. MS. Latin 2462, f. 206b.-207.

[42] The soul of Mary leapt forth into the bosom of Jesus. See above, p. 24.

[43] See the remarks of Dr. James on the character of Death in the *Testament of Abraham* (pp. 55-8). He notices briefly the characteristics of the various messengers of death and concludes

Egyptian other-world offer, I think, the prototype. The Egyptians believed in a large number of cruel servants of the highest power. The passage of a soul to the Elysian fields was merely a series of encounters with the guardians, or doorkeepers, or demons, of the different portions of the way. These were dreadful to look upon and the poor soul feared greatly in their presence. They were not forces of evil, they were not enemies of the good. On the contrary, they were the servants of the god of justice, and their business was to see that only the just entered the kingdom of Osiris. If the soul had been properly equipped and knew all the pass-words, it might stand up bravely and defy these demons; they were then powerless. But for the poor soul which had not the pass-words they were the means of annihilation. In this character of servants of the god of justice, dreadful to everyone, but possessing only a limited power over the good, they correspond to the angels who take the souls of dying men.

In the pictures of the under-world these genii are represented with heads of animals; the jackal, the ibis, the greyhound, etc. The Coptic *Martyrdom of St. Macarius of Antioch* describes the messengers who come to take the soul in this same way, thus adding confirmation to my identification of the messengers with the Egyptian genii.

Lorsque je fus arrivé au moment de la mort, je fus poursuivi par des *Decanos* de figure et de forme diverses. Les uns avaient un visage de bête féroce, d'autres un visage de dragon; ceux-ci, un visage de lion, ceux-la, un visage de crocodile ou d'ours.[44]

that this Death contains Egyptian and Jewish elements Considering all the texts that we have studied in this chapter we may well, I think, give to the Jewish Samael the credit of the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Falling Asleep of Mary*, and the *Death of Joseph* in that a single angel appears there, whereas it is a band, or order of angels, in all the other texts. See also my remarks on the Jewish angel of death in Appendix A.

[44] Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, p. 56.

And the true form of Death in the *Testament of Abraham* showed many heads of animals.

These genii however are not concerned with the deaths of men, but only with their souls when they reach the under-world. An extension of their rôle to include the actual taking of the souls is not difficult to imagine. In fact if we may trust the translation as meaning just what it says, there is an example of it in the Litany of Ra:

> Oh! Ra who art in the Ament . . . who art in the empyrean, deliver Osiris from thy conductors who separate souls from their bodies, the agile beings who move quickly in thy places of torment.[45]

[45] *Records of the Past*, I Series, VIII, 120. Isaac Myer (*The Oldest Books in the World*, London, 1900, pp. 139 f.) gives references to several 'messengers of death' in pre-Christian Egyptian writings: but none of them seem to me to refer certainly to the death-angel. I have been unable to identify Mr. Myer's reference to a messenger of death in the Turin Papyrus of the *Book of the Dead*, chap. 125, l. 43. Another reference is to a tablet in the British Museum, dating from the period just before the Roman conquest. I do not quote the entire text. "He whose name is Complete-death comes, when he has called all the people to him, terrifying their hearts with the fear of him, there are none, who dare look him in the face among gods and men, and for him the great are as the little. He spares not him who loves him, he takes the child from its mother, as well as the old man. Whosoever meets him on his path becomes fearful, and though all the people supplicate before him he does not turn his face towards them. One does not come to pray to him for he does not listen to him who implores; he does not see those who give him presents of every kind of cake." This passage is quoted also in Wiedemann's *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 96, and in others. The translations differ a great deal: that of Myer corresponds most nearly to the early Christian expressions of fear at the coming of death.—The Egyptian texts which refer clearly to a messenger of death have to do primarily with the life on earth. Cf. the Tomb of Nofirhotpou: "Obey thy desires, and seek thy happiness so long as thou remainest on the earth, wear not thy heart in repining until the day comes when the impassive god hearkens not to those who implore from him

a longer period of life. The lamentations of his friends do not help a man to be consoled in the tomb. Spend a happy day and enjoy it to thy utmost. For, verily, no man carries his possessions with him when he dies; verily, no one who has departed this life has ever returned" (Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, p. 28).—Cf. also: "Place devant toi comme but à atteindre une vieillesse dont on puisse témoigner, afin que tu sois trouvé ayant parfait ta maison qui est dans la vallée funéraire, au matin de cacher ton corps. Place cela devant toi dans toutes les fonctions que tu as à considérer de ton œil. Lorsque tu seras ainsi un grand vieillard, tu te coucheras au milieu d'eux: il n'y a point de surprise pour celui qui agit bien, il est préparé: ainsi quand viendra pour toi ton messager (de mort) pour te prendre, qu'il trouve quelqu'un qui est prêt. Certes, tu n'auras pas le temps de parler, car, en venant, il se précipite au-devant de toi. Ne dis pas: Je suis un jeune homme: saisis-toi (de moi); car tu ne connais pas ta mort. La mort vient, elle s'empare du nourrisson qui est dans les bras de sa mère, comme de celui qui est devenu vieux. Vois: je t'ai dit ces choses excellentes que (tu dois) considérer en ton coeur: fais-les; tu deviendras un homme bon et tous les maux seront éloignés de toi" (Amélineau, *La Morale Égyptienne Quinze Siècles avant notre Ère*, pp. 53 f.).

IV

THE DANGEROUS PATH TO HEAVEN

This belief in its widest acceptance means only that there are dangers which the soul has to encounter on its journey to heaven. Usually these dangers appear in a series extending the entire length of the path from earth to heaven, so that every step of the soul's passage is made fearful because of them. In the patristic texts the soul meets with recurring bands of spirits who challenge its progress; in the Coptic texts there are beings who threaten and usually, also, physical dangers.

1. The Struggle with the Spirits

The soul, as soon as it is freed from the body, ascends toward heaven. Its passage, however, is hindered by numerous spirits, or "powers," who come to meet it, and, confronting it with the various sins, refuse to allow it to pass until it prove its innocence of them. If it be guilty, they carry it off to Hades immediately. Usually there are bands of spirits corresponding to the various sins, and the soul encounters them in a definite order. Only when it has proved its innocence of the first sin, can it encounter the spirits of the second; and so it passes throughout the entire ascent to heaven. In the greater number of the texts, also, the soul is accompanied and protected by angels, who bring forward its good deeds when the spirits present its sins, and, if occasion demands, fight with them for the possession of the soul.

In a homily by Cyril of Alexandria, the sins are identified with a series of *telonia* through which the soul must pass as it ascends to heaven.

Tenetur igitur animus a sanctis angelis, per aerem sublimis praeteriens, invenitque quosdam quasi publicanos ascensum custodientes, et ascendentes animos prehendentes, prohibentesque: nam quisque publicanorum propria habet peccata, quae illis objiciat. Alius perperam dicta, quaecunque ore et lingua commissa sunt mentiendo, jurando, et perjurando: cum superflua, nugatoria et vana verba, tum helluationes, vinique abusum, et luxum, et immodicos indecorosque risus, levia et inhonesta oscula, et impudica cantica. At sancti angeli animum ducentes proferunt et ipsi quaecunque ore linguaque locuti sumus bona, supplicationes, gratiarum actiones, psalmos, carmina, laudes, divinos cantus, scriptorumque lectiones, et quaecunque per os et linguam bona Deo praemisimus.

Secundum telonium est oculorum visus, quaecunque in decoro aspectu, curiosoque et effrenato intuitu et fallaci nutu committuntur. Tertium telonium est auditionis, et quaecunque per hunc sensum impuros spiritus accipiunt. Quartum est olfactus odoriferorum unguentorum, et suaviun odorum, quae mimas et impudicas decent mulieres. Quintum est eorum quae manuum tactu perverse et improbe facta sunt, et caeterae vitiorum tabernae, invidiae, aemulationis, inanis gloriae et superbiae, acerbitatis et irae, iracundiae et furoris, scortationis et adulterii et mollitiae, homicidii et veneficii, caeterorumque impiorum et perversorum factorum, quae in praesentia minutatim persequi non licet, sed in aliud tempus differantur. Breviter eodem modo deinceps suos quilibet animi morbus et peccatum publicanos habet, et tributi quaestores. . . . Nam suorum quisque peccatorum catenis constringitur. Quod si dignus fuerit, pie et ad Dei voluntatem traducta vita, assumunt eum angeli, et deinceps securus pergit, comites habens sanctas potestates, . . . Tunc a pravis, improbis et horrendis illis spiritibus liberatus, vadit in illud ineffable gaudium. Sin autem inventus fuerit dissolute luxuriose vixisse, audit gravissimam illam vocem: "Tollatur impius, ne Domini gloriam videat." Tunc eum invadunt dies irae afflictionis, angoris et angustiae: dies tenebrarum, et caliginis. Tunc a sanctis Dei angelis derelictum prehendunt Æthiopes illi daemones, et eum crudeliter verberantes deferunt ad terram, eaque diffissa infractis colligatum vinculis pracipitant in tenebricosam et caliginosam terram, ad infima loca, in subterraneos orci carceres atque custodias.[1]

[1] *P. G.* 77, 1074-5.

The word *telonium* (Greek τελώνιον) signifies the toll-booth at which the official sits for the receipt of taxes. It is the word used in the New Testament in the account of the call of Matthew (*Matt.* ix, 9, *Mark* ii, 14, *Luke* v, 27). Cyril, however, uses the word to betoken the district or the section of the road to which one was admitted by the paying of the tribute. He carries the figure further by speaking of the spirits as "publicans," "demanders of tribute." In Cyril's conception, therefore, the journey from earth to heaven was entirely analogous to the journeys with which he was familiar on earth. As on earth he was forced to pay tribute at the entrance to each town or governmental confine, without which he could not enter that territory; so the way to heaven was divided, likewise, into a number of districts, and at the entrance to each were the officers demanding tribute. If the unhappy soul were unable to satisfy these publicans, it was turned back and forbidden to proceed further.

The *telonium* occurs again in the vision of a certain Abbot Macarius in exactly the same sense as in Cyril's homily.[2]

Die quadam precabar ad Dominum Deum. Dein suspexi in coelum intuens, et ecce, erat apertum, et angeli Dei alii sursum meabant alii deorsum, animas efferentes. Aliquot autem nigri et tenebrosi

[2] There is, however, no evidence that Macarius has borrowed from Cyril; instead, he refers to the *telonia* as a matter of every day knowledge. We may therefore infer that the belief in the *telonia* was rather widespread. This inference would be more interesting and more significant were we able to fix the date of the Macarius vision, for then we should be able to decide roughly the length of time during which the belief in the *telonia* was popular. I would assign this homily to a comparatively late date owing to the identification of the spirits with the demons, the fierce activity of the angels in saving the souls, and the insistance on the doctrines of the Church, as for example, the value of confession before death, the perdition of the suicide, etc. Compare that part of the vision which I have not quoted.

in aëre magnam habebant colluctationem rapiendi et detrahendi animas hominum. Angeli contra resistebant fortiter et valide, utpote valde verberantes eos et salvantes animas. Rursus suspicio, et ecce duo angeli in coelum hominis animam asportantes. Ubi igitur appropinquabant telonio fornicationis et moechationis et andromaniae—haec enim sunt omnium teloniorum turpissima; in via autem sursum ferente appropinquabant animam tenentes angeli Dei—coepit princeps telonii obstrepere horribiliter et vehementer perturbari ac dicere ad angelos Dei: Quo pacto vos animam hanc rapitis ad nos pertinentem? Respondent angeli ei: Quo sophismate uteris in ea, die! Respondit iis: Quia usque ad finem vitae fornicabatur et sodomiticum peccatum saepe propria voluntate perpetrabat. Neque id solum: et iudicabat proximum suum calumnians; et quodnam gravius hisce criminibus potestis invenire in eo? Dicunt angeli: Etiamsi haec anima in servitute erat talium libidinum, tamen eradicavit eas ex se antequam finis eius advenit. Dixit autem diabolus: Minime, non est ut dicitis, sed sine contritione permansit ad extremum usque spiritum, nec prorsus a flagitiis abstinuit. Nequaquam inveniebatur abrenuntians omnibus peccatis suis, aut abstinens a malis, sed sic decessit, utpote servus peccati et meus cooperator. Tum ait unus ex angelis Dei: Vere tibi adversario fidem non habemus. Omnino enim mendacium es, immunde. Sed arcessitor angelus inde a baptismate datus ei in custodiam, et ille indicabit veritatem, qualis est. Qui ut vocatus est illuc, erat enim occupatus circa sepulturam corporis eius, dicunt ei angeli: Dic nobis, amice; haecne anima conversa est a peccatis suis, an in iis obiit? Ac respondens iis dixit angelus: Ab hora, qua in morbum incidit, antequam ingravesceret, recordabatur mortis, et incipiebat gemere et lacrimari, et vocari iussit presbyterum ecclesiae, et singillatim coepit plangere et deflere et confiteri omnia peccata sua Deo coram sacerdote, extendens manus suas versus coelum, amare suspirans et congemiscens. Si igitur remisit Deus hoc peccatum ex potestate sua, et hoc valde consentaneum est, nonne tum gloria iusto ipsius iudicio? Haec audientes lucis angeli irriserunt diabolum, mittentes eum. At vere evasit anima illa e laqueo insidiatorum.[3]

Unfortunately the author becomes so interested in the strife of the demons and the angels, that he forgets all about the *telonia,* which are not again mentioned, though he goes on to describe the struggles over several other

[3] *P. G.* 34, 223-6.

souls. These struggles, however, are of the same general character as the one just quoted, and add nothing to our understanding of the tradition as a whole.

In the *Vita Sancti Joannis Eleemosynarii* of the *Vitae Patrum,* the author does not mention the *telonia.* There is, however, a definite relation between different sins and the stages of the ascent to heaven.

Etenim sanctus iste in memoria semper retinebat quod sancto Simoni, qui in columnis stetit, per revelationem factum est notum: Quia exeunte anima e corpore, obviant ei cum ascenderit a terra in coelum, chori daemonum, singuli in proprio ordine. Obviat ei chorus daemoniorum superbiae, investigat eam, si habeat opera eorum. Obviat chorus spirituum detractionis: aspiciunt si quando oblocuta sit, et poenitentiam non egerit. Obviant iterum superius daemones fornicationis: scrutantur si recognoscant in ea voluptates suas. Et quando a terra usque ad coelum misera anima positura rationem pervenerit, seorsum ab ea sancti angeli stabunt, et non adjuvabunt eam nisi bonitates suae.

A little later he increases the list of the sins. Here he calls the spirits *exactores* and *inquisitores,* words which belong to the same train of ideas as Cyril's *publicanos* and *tributi quaestores.*

Quid habes tu, . . dicere aut facere, quando obviaverint in faciem tuam crudeles illi et immisericordes exactores et inquisitores? Ad quantos poteris rationem reddere, ad eos qui exquirunt de mendacio, ad eos qui de detractione, ad eos qui de crudelitate, ad eos qui de avaritia, ad eos qui de memoria mali, ad eos qui de odio, ad eos qui exquirunt de perjurio? Et dementatus dicebat: Deus, tu eos increpa, nam omnis fortitudo hominum eis resistere non valet. Tu, Domine, da nobis ductores sanctos angelos, qui custodiant et gubernent nos; multa enim est contra nos eorum insania, multus tremor, multus timor, multum periculum pelagi aeris hujus.[4]

The Syriac version of the *Visio Pauli* explains and clarifies the evidently mutilated account of the Latin,

[4] *P. L.* 73, 374-5.

and enables us to identify the spirits[5] and angels who stop the passage of both the good and the evil soul, with the spirits we have been studying.

And while I was beholding these things, that spirit was lifted up from the earth, that it might ascend to heaven. And there went out to meet it wicked powers, those that are under heaven. And there reached it the spirit of error, and said: "Whither dost thou presume, O soul? and art thou running that thou mayest enter heaven? Stop, that we may see; perhaps there is in thee something that belongs to us, that we may narrate a little." And that soul was bound there; and there was a fight between the good angels and the evil angels. And when that spirit of deception saw, it bewailed with a loud voice, and said: "Woe unto thee, O soul, that we have found in thee nothing of ours! and lo, all the angels and the spirits are helping thee against us; and behold, these all are with thee; thou has passed out from us." And there went forth another spirit, the spirit of the Tempter, and the spirit of fornication; and they came to meet it; and when they saw it, they wept over it, and said: "How has this soul escaped from us! It did the will of God on earth, and behold, the angels help it and pass it along from us." And all the principalities and evil spirits came to meet it, even unto it; and they did not find in it any thing that was from them; and they were not able to do anything to it; and they gnashed their teeth upon that soul, and said: "How hast thou escaped from us?" And the angel which conducted it in life answered and said unto them: "Return, O ye mortified ones; ye have no way of access to it; with many artifices ye enticed, when it was on earth, and it did not listen to you."[6]

[5] What seems to be an earlier reference to these spirits is found on page 190 (Latin Version, p. 15). "And I looked upon the firmament of heaven; and I saw that there were there principalities who had been in the world; and there were there spirits of deception, who lead astray the heart of the sons of men from God; and there are the evil spirits of accusation, and fornication, and the love of money, and all those things in which they walked; and, behold, they are gathered for witness; even all the evil spirits that are under heaven." Immediately after this vision, Paul sees the "angels without mercy" and the good angels who are destined to the souls of the righteous and the sinners.

[6] P. 192. The Latin version (pp. 16-7) is as follows: "Et spiritus eius confirmauit eam et angelus eius suscepit eam et deduxit in celo:

When it [the evil soul] arrived at the door of the firmament, that soul saw hosts of the Wicked One; and it beheld those hosts that they placed a weight on its weariness—error and accusation, and the spirit of deceiving. And when they came unto it, they said: "O soul, whither wilt thou flee? O miserable soul, stop, that we may see if there is anything of ours." And when they saw it, they rejoiced and said: "Yes, yes, there is in thee, and thou art altogether ours; now we know that even thine angel can not help thee and save thee out of our hand.[7]

The latter part of this recital is confused by the author's attempt to reconcile this tradition with the belief that every soul was judged by God immediately after death. Instead, therefore, of the soul's being carried immediately to Hades as one expects, its angel refuses to give it up, and a voice from heaven is heard commanding that the soul be brought thither.[8]

In the *Life of St. Anthony,* attributed to Athanasius, Anthony has two visions of the soul's journey to heaven, which may easily be identified with the tradition in question, though the forms are modified. In the first Anthony has a vision of his own ascent. Demons of the air chal-

et ait angelus: Ubi curris, anima, et audes ingredi celum? expecta et uideamus si est aliquid nostrum in te: et ecce nihil inuenimus in te. Video etiam adiutorium diuinum et angelum tuum, et spiritus congaudens est tibi quoniam fecisti uoluntatem dei in terris. Et deduxerunt eam dum adusque adoret in conspectu dei." One can not tell here that the angel who addresses the soul is not the same as the angel who is bearing it to heaven.

[7] P. 194. The Latin version (p. 18) of the passage of the evil soul corresponds in the details given to the passage of the good soul in the Syriac.

[8] This voice from heaven seems to me only a rather clumsy device to evade the fact that the evil soul should remain in the hands of the demons and be carried by them to hell. In connection with this episode we may notice that in the homily of Cyril's, when the spirits of the air find the soul evil, a voice is heard from heaven, but saying: "Let the impious one be borne away, *lest* he see the glory of the Lord." (Vulgate, *Isaiah,* xxvi, 10).

lenge his passage; the angels conducting him demand the reason, there being no sin in Anthony. Thereupon the demons begin the recital of all his sins from the time of his nativity. The angels object that all those sins have been forgiven by Christ, but that if the demons know of any sin he has committed since being made a monk, they may present it. The demons then accuse Anthony of many sins, but proofs being wanting, the way is opened for him.[9]

The second vision offers an interesting variation of the regular theme. Instead of the recurring bands of angels who fill the road to heaven, the devil himself appears in the form of a terrible figure, extending from the earth to the clouds, trying with outstretched hands to prevent the ascent of souls.

Et elevatis ad cœlum oculis, vidit quemdam longum atque terribilem, caput usque ad nubes attolentem. Vidit etiam pennatos[10] quosdam se elevare cupientes ad cœlum, atque illum extensis manibus prohibere transgressu: e quibus alios apprehensos elidebat ad terram, alios frustra retinere contendens, dolebat super se ad cœlestia transvolare: et maximum gaudium mistum mœrore victi victoresque tribuebant. Statimque ad eum vox facta est, dicens: Animadverte quod vides. Et tunc cœpit illuminato corde intelligere, animarum esse conscensum, et diabolum prohibitentem; qui est sibi retineret obnoxios, et in sanctorum, quos decipere non poterat, cruciaretur volatu.[11]

With the *Homilia V in Psalmum XXXVI* of Origen we return to the more orthodox expression of the tradition.

Tunc et adiuvabit eos Dominus in tempore tribulationis, et eripiet eos, et auferet eos a peccatoribus, non solum ab hominibus pecca-

[9] *P. G.*, 26, 933-6, chap. 65.

[10] Souls are usually pictured as the exact counterpart of the physical body on earth: the *double* of the Ancient Egyptians. The *souls* of the Egyptians were represented most often as birds. This fact probably accounts for the winged creatures Anthony saw.

[11] *P. G.*, 26, 937-8, chap. 66. *Versio Evagrii.*

toribus, sed etiam a contrariis potestatibus, uel certe eo tempore cum anima separatur a corpore, et occurrunt ei peccatores dæmones, aduersae potestates, spiritus æris huius qui eam volunt detinere et reuocare ad se si quid in ea suorum operum gestorumque cognoverint. Venit enim ad unamquamque animam de hoc mundo exeuntem princeps huius mundi, et æreae potestates, et requirunt si inveniant in ea aliquid suum; si auaritiam invenerint, suae partis est; si iram, si luxuriam, si invidiam, et singula quaeque eorum similia si inuenerint, suae partis est, et sibi eam defendunt, et ad se eam trahunt, et ad partem eam peccatorum declinant. Si vero aliquis imitatus est illum qui dixit: *Ecce veniet princeps mundi huius, et in me non habet quidquam*, si se ita aliquis obseruauit, veniunt quidem isti peccatores, et requirentes in eo, quae sua sunt, et non invenientes tentabunt nihilominus ad suam partem uiolenter eum detorquere, sed Dominus eripiet eum a peccatoribus. Et forte propterea jubemur cum quodam mysterio etiam in oratione petere, dicentes: *Sed libera nos a malo.*[12]

Here the demons are not specifically identified with the various sins, though they are each mentioned. The attendant angels do not appear at all: the Lord Himself intercedes in behalf of the godly. Again, it may be questioned whether this inquisition is conceived to be a part of the journey to heaven, or whether it takes place at the time the soul is separated from the body; the latter seems more probable.

2. Confusion of the Spirits with the Angels who Remove Souls

This homily by Origen opens the way for the consideration of a new development of the tradition. The struggle is depicted at the bedside; then the spirits of the air and the angels who protect the souls become confused with the angels who come to remove souls from their bodies.[13]

[12] *P. G.*, 12, 1366.

[13] There is, apparently, an example of this confusion in the para-

This confusion of tradition is shown very clearly in the mummy episode of the *Éloge de Pisentios.* The "rulers of the world" come and draw out the soul with iron spears exactly as the cruel angels whose business it was to take the souls of the wicked. Before doing this, however, they recite all the sins the dying man has committed, and say: "Let someone come now, let someone save you from the torments into which we are going to cast you!" [14] The recital of the sins, and the fear that some one might take the soul from them, belong solely to the spirits of the air.

In the *Visio Pauli* and the *Falling Asleep of Mary* the influence of the spirits of the air is less strong. The good and evil powers, however, are both present, ready to "assume" the soul as in the combats after death. The struggle between them and the recital of the soul's good and evil deeds, are reduced to a mere recognition of the soul as good or evil: after this, the good (or evil) powers proceed to draw out the soul after the manner of the kind (or cruel) servants of God. This confusion of the two traditions must have been entirely unconscious. For the

graph preceding that part of the homily by Cyril of Alexandria quoted above. Various "powers" for good and for evil surround the death-bed and cause the soul to fear greatly; then the soul, on going out, flees to the angels of God who start with it to heaven, meeting with the spirits of the *telonia* on the way. The two forces at the bedside do *not* draw out the soul; moreover the antitheses between them are the same as those which are drawn later between the angels who conduct the soul, and the spirits who oppose its passage. It seems clear, therefore, that this appearance of the two forces at the bedside is but an extension of the combat between them on the way to heaven. The fact that, in other versions, we find these two powers actually removing the soul, shows that this extension was due to an influence of the other tradition of the angels who remove souls.

[14] See above, p. 26.

authors of these versions did not think of the good and evil angels at the bedside as taking the place of the spirits after death, this struggle being also represented.

In the *Visio Pauli* Paul witnesses the departure of the good soul first:

> Then I, Paul, perceived that he was righteous who was now dying: and he found for himself rest, even before dying. And there approached him wicked angels (when a righteous one departs, they do not find a place by him), and those good angels ruled over that righteous one.[15]

Then he beholds the departure of an evil soul:

> And I saw that bitter hour; and I saw all his wickedness coming before him and after him, while it encompassed him before his eyes; and I saw that hour embittered to him from the judgment that was to come. And that man was saying: "O that I had not been born, nor brought forth in the world!" And I saw that the good angels descended to meet him: and they looked upon him, and saw darkness encompassing him around about, and the foul odor of his evil deeds,[16] so that they could not come nigh unto him; and there came also those evil angels. When that soul saw both parties, it was shaken. And those good angels saw that it had not one good

[15] P. 192. The Latin version (p. 16) is fuller but less significant: "Et uidi omnia opera eius quecunque fecerat propter nomen dei, et omnia studia eius quorum meminitet quorum non meminit, omnia steterunt in conspectum eius in hora necessitatis; et uidi iustum profecisse et inuenisse refectionem et fiduciam, et ante quam exiret de mundo asteterunt sancti angeli simul et impii: et uidi eos omnes, set impii non inuenerunt locum habitacionis in eum, sancti autem dominati sunt anime eius, gubernantes eam quo usque exiret de corpore." For the physical presence of the good deeds, compare the *Vita Sancti Joannis* quoted above, p. 55, "seorsum ab ea sancti angeli stabunt, et non adjuvabunt nisi bonitates suae."

[16] See p. 77, n. 4. The ancient Egyptian prayed: "May the *Shenit* not cause my name to stink before the great god, the lord of Amentet." Budge, *The Book of the Dead, Papyrus of Hunefer*, p. 6. Cf. *Othello* IV, 2, 76, and *Hamlet*, III, 3, 36.

work; and when they fled away from it,[17] those evil angels took the rule over it, and pulled it out in severe anger and haste.[18]

In the *Falling Asleep of Mary* the description in question comes in the midst of Mary's speech telling of her dread of the terrors of the way to heaven. In order to show the connection I quote the passage in full, repeating even those sentences I have quoted before.

Therefore I fear, O my sons, because of those paths, for they are very narrow. I heard Him many times teaching the sons of men, telling them to repent, saying, There is a river of fire set in the path, tossing its waves exceedingly, and its waves are higher than any mountain. All flesh must needs cross over it, whether righteous or sinners. Can I, my sons, be delivered from this? What then shall I say concerning the separation of the soul from the body? O that hour full of fear and trembling! They say that two powers come after the soul, one of light, another of darkness, unseemly and full of shuddering and trembling. If it be a righteous soul, they bring it forth enticingly, being mild and gentle towards it, because they see its Maker peaceful towards it. If indeed it be a sinner, the powers of light withdraw themselves, and the powers of darkness draw nigh to it in anger, slaying them and hastily cleaving asunder and scourging them, grinding their teeth and sending forth flames of fire from their mouths into its face, knowing that its deeds are unseemly, and that God is not at peace with it. Woe to me, my sons! Who can assure me, that God is at peace with me, that I may be able to be delivered from this hour? They tell me also that there is a gloomy darkness in the path; and there are therein merciless avengers, their faces being very diverse, whom God hath

[17] The Latin version (p. 18) reads, as do both versions in the case of the good soul, "they did not find a place by him." This idea is more closely kin to that of the strife of the demons and angels, than the "running away" of the Syriac version.

[18] P. 194. This confusion is fundamental in the *Visio Pauli*. After the description of the good and evil angels who visit good and evil souls, the prophet asks if it is necessary that souls meet witnesses when dead, the angel replies: "Vna est uia per quam omnes transeunt ad deum, sed iusti habentes secum sanctum adiutorem non conturbantur euntes apparere in conspectu dei" (p. 15. Syriac version, p. 191).

set to teach the lawless in the way; even as it is written. Shall I be saved from such as these? There is also in that place the worm that does not die, which eats the lawless more than any cancer. O my beloved sons, would that I might be delivered from this also! They inform me also, O my sons, that there is an unquenchable fire, whose flame cannot be cooled by the waters of the sea, or by the rivers, or by the fountains, or by the rains. But they say that three tear drops extinguish its flame. Blessed is the soul that has wept over its sins, whilst it is yet in the world, or ever it reaches this fire. Woe to me! I have not yet told of the ruler of darkness, who always does what in him lies to drag down every one under his feet, save those who shall fly above him on wings of light, which are their good deeds[19]. Who can comfort me over the sentence, which cometh forth from the mouth of the righteous Judge, Take this soul, and give to it according to all its works. All these things, my sons, are fearful to me on every side. But the will of the Lord be done upon me.[20]

3. The Coptic Texts

The terrors described in the *Falling Asleep of Mary* belong to the more popular forms of the belief, which in many respects are quite different from the patristic expositions we have studied thus far. The danger of the road to the other world is always prominent, and there are always powers who threaten. These powers, however, are never associated with particular sins, and they never come to meet the soul in a definite order, though the idea of the series of dangers is found in the various kinds of obstacles which the soul must surmount. Mary mentions the "river of fire," the "gloomy darkness" wherein are "merciless avengers," the "worm that does not die," the "unquenchable fire," and last of all, the "ruler of darkness."

The two Coptic presentations of the tradition which

[19] Cf. the second vision of St. Anthony, p. 58.

[20] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, pp. 95-9.

correspond most nearly to the Latin and Greek forms are found in the *Histoire de Marc le Salutaire* and in a homily attributed to Cyril of Alexandria. The first is very short, and belongs to the traditions of the struggle just after death.

Je vis sortir son âme que les Anges emportaient revêtue d'un vêtement blanc: ils priaient avec elle, tandis que les Satans étaient debout, tout préparés à la lutte. Et j'entendis une voix disant: "O enfants de l'injustice, fuyez de devant les enfants de la lumière!" Et voici que les Satans s'écrièrent: "Prenez-le, il nous a confondus." Je vis alors à droite comme du feu qui se développait, puis je ne vis plus rien.[21]

The second passage is too long to quote. Sisinnios the eunuch had asked for a vision "on the subject of the safety of his soul," and it was granted him. Accompanied by a "commander" and a terrible "power" with the head of a dog and the body of a man, he marched a great distance, coming at last to a river of fire. Sisinnios prayed the "commander" not to make him enter this fire, but the "power" refused to give him up, and Sisinnios "became very tired standing while they talked one with the other." Then came some one with a book in which Sisinnios' name was written, and at last came an old bishop with eleven others. When he demanded Sisinnios in the name of Christ the "power" vanished and was seen no more.[22] Here, the dispute over the soul, and

[21] *Contes et Romans*, II., 72. A 15th century Ethiopic MS. gives magic names; if a man repeat them before death the angel of death may not torment him. There are others which will chase the angels of darkness from the seventy-seven dwellings of the angels, the angels of light will then come saying, "Come, brilliant soul," and lead it away with joy and gladness. Cf. René Basset, *Enseignements de Jésus-Christ à ses disciples et prières magiques*, p. 22, *Les Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, VII, Paris, 1896.

[22] *Mission au Caire*, IV, 180 ff.

the summoning of the powers of good for its defense are characteristics of the patristic forms which do not often appear in the Coptic. On the other hand, the river of fire and the power with the animal head are found only in the Coptic.[23]

In this same sermon there is another reference to the way to the other world and the powers therein.

C'est une grande affliction que celle qui les surprendra en chemin avant qu'ils n'arrivent en présence de Dieu[24] . . . Lorsqu'ils ont vu toutes ses grandes figures de tout gendre, sur le champ ils ont été dans le trouble, en voyant ces visages de lions, ces visages de dragons, ces visages d'oiseaux, ces visages variés.[25]

The Coptic writers, however, did not stop with the description of concrete rivers of fire, and animal-headed monsters. Almost never did they describe the way to heaven in terms which were abstract or of universal application; it was filled with real, concrete terrors to real, concrete people. As a result it could appear only in visions, in the recitals of the dead who themselves had experienced its terrors, or in the fears of the living. In the Coptic homily attributed to Cyril of Alexandria we have the vision. In the mummy episode of the *Éloge de Pisentios* we have the witness of the mummy, though, unfortunately, without the details one expects from the sufferer:

En ce moment les anges sans pitié emmenèrent ma malheureuse âme hors de mon corps, ils l'attachèrent sous un cheval noir non-corporel, ils m'entraînèrent à l'Occident.[26] Oh! malheur à tout

[23] I am speaking only of the texts definitely stating the legend in question. The river of fire occurs, of course, in the writings of the Fathers, but not, to my knowledge, as one of the dangers of the way to heaven.

[24] *Mission au Caire,* IV, 168. [25] *Ibid.,* p. 170.

[26] In Revillout's translation (*Rev. Égypt.,* II, 70), *Amenti.*

pécheur comme moi, qu'on a mis au monde! Oh! seigneur mon père, on me livra aux mains de nombreux tourmenteurs sans pitié dont chacun avait une forme différente. Oh! combien de bêtes sauvages vis-je dans le chemin! oh! combien de puissances qui châtiaient![27]

It is, however, in the third class of descriptions, in the fears expressed by the living or, more exactly, the dying, since the latter have greater occasion to fear, that this tradition is most frequent and most graphic. But, strange to say, all fear is immediately removed at the appearance of the angels who surround the death-beds, and no one ever seems to have met with any hindrance whatever when being carried to heaven.[28] Nevertheless Schnoudi sighs:

Malheur à moi, car la route est longue: jusqu'à quel temps attendrai-je afin d'aller à Dieu? Sur la route il y a des terreurs et des puissances fortes! malheur à moi jusqu'à ce que je rencontre le Seigneur.[29]

And St. Maximus prays:

Envoie ta lumière et ta vérité ô mon Dieu, afin qu'elles me guident sur le chemin, car certes je crois que tu rendras droit mon chemin et que tu me sauveras des mains des puissances ténébreuses de l'air où règnet les démons. Prépare mes pas sur tes chemins, mon Dieu, afin que j'aille jusqu'à toi sans empêchement.[30]

[27] P. 148.

[28] There is, I think, no doubt but that this fear of the road to the other world was in a measure responsible for the presence of the hosts of angels around the Saints' death-beds which we discussed in the preceding chapter. The influence was reciprocal. The fact that there were angels at the death-bed to remove souls led to an extension of the role of the angel-protectors to include the taking of the soul, while the idea that the soul needed protection on its way to the other world, led to the belief that it should be surrounded by very friendly angels at the time of its separation from the body even in those texts in which the idea of the removal of the soul is absent.

[29] *Mission au Caire*, IV, 89-90.

[30] *Musée Guimet*, XXV, 306.

Mary also prays:

I beseech Thee, O my beloved Son, let the tyrannies of death and the powers of darkness flee from me. Let the angels of light draw nigh unto me. Let the worm that does not die be still. Let the outer darkness become light. Let the accusers of Amenti shut their mouths before me. Let the dragon of the abyss close his mouth as he sees me coming to Thee. O my beloved Son, command that the officers of the abyss flee away from me, and terrify not my soul. The stones of stumbling which are in those paths, let them be destroyed before me. Let not the avengers with divers aspects see me with their eyes. The river of fire that tosseth its waves before Thee as the waves of the sea, wherein are proved the two portions, the righteous and the sinners—when I pass over it, let it not burn my soul.[31]

Joseph prays:

Cause not the angel, appointed unto me from the day that Thou didst form me until now, to burn in his face with anger towards me in the path, as I come unto Thee: but let him be at peace with me.[32] Let not those whose face is diverse trouble me in the path, as I come unto Thee. Let not those who are by the gates restrain my soul; neither put me to shame at Thy fearful judgment seat. Let not the waves of the river of fire be savage towards me, wherein all souls are purified, before they see the glory of Thy godhead.[33]

And Jesus prays for Joseph:

I entreat Thee for the work of Thy hands, even My father Joseph; that Thou mayest send Me a great Cherubin and the choir of the angels, and Michael, the steward of the good things, and Gabriel, the evangelist of the aeons of light; that they may watch the soul of My father Joseph, and lead it, until it cross the seven

[31] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 58. This prayer in the Sahidic Fragments of the *Life of the Virgin* (IV, p. 39) contains the sentence: "Let all the powers of darkness be ashamed today, because they have found nothing of theirs in me." This is exactly the phrasing of Origen, and of the *Visio Pauli*. See above, pp. 59 and 56.

[32] Compare with the *Visio Pauli*, where the angel of the soul praises or blesses it, as it starts on the way to heaven.

[33] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, pp. 134-5.

aeons of darkness, and they pass by the dark ways, wherein it is very fearful to go, and it is very disquieting to see the powers which are upon them. Let the river of fire be as water and the sea of demons cease vexing. Let it be gentle towards the soul of My father Joseph: for this is the hour wherein he has need of mercy.

Further on, Michael and Gabriel are made to watch the soul because of the "plunderers that are in the ways." [34]

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 157-9. One might also call attention to the prayer in the Coptic Sacrament of Extreme Unction, ". . . et si praecepisti, ut acciperes animam ejus a manibus angelorum lucis in virtute salvante eum a daemonibus tenebrarum, transfer eum in paradisum laetitiae, ut sit cum omnibus sanctis in sanguine tuo, . . . Wirceburgi, 1863, (Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium Coptorum, Syrorum, et Armenorum*, II, 490), or to the promise in the Coptic *Encomium of St. Michael the Archangel* by Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria: "If thou visitest a sick person in the name of the God of Michael, God will send His angel to visit thee in thy great sickness, which is the day of thy death. If thou goest to those who are in prison, and comfortest them on the festival of the Archangel Michael, God will send Michael to deliver thee from the prison of Amenti" (Budge, *St. Michael the Archangel*, p. 44, London, 1894.—The Syriac *Decease of St. John* and *Acts of Judas Thomas* contain fears of the dying very similar to those quoted. Thus John prays: "And when I am going to Thee, let the fire depart, let the darkness be overcome, let the pit be enfeebled; let the furnace be slackened, let Gehenna be extinguished; let the angels accompany, let the demons be afraid; let the princes be cast down, let the powers of darkness fall; let the places on the right stand, but those on the left not stand; let the Slanderer be muzzled, let Satan be laughed to scorn; let his work be undone, let his glory be put to shame, let his anger be rendered vain; let his children be beaten, let his whole root be crushed. But my path unto Thee do Thou render for me free from insult and from spoliation, and (grant) that I may receive the things which Thou hast promised to those who have lived purely and have loved Thee alone" (Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, p. 67). And Thomas prays: "My Lord and my God, and my Hope and my Savior, and my Guide and Conductor in all the lands which I have traversed in Thy name, be Thou with all Thy servants, and do Thou guide me too that I may come unto Thee; for unto Thee I have committed my soul, and no man shall take it from Thy hands. Let not my sins

4. The Series of Dangers in the Egyptian Other-world

This belief in the perilous path to heaven may be traced directly to the religion of Ancient Egypt.[35] There, however, the dangerous way was not the road leading to the other world, but the road the soul must follow in the other world. And by overcoming all the difficulties in the way the soul expected at last to reach a place where he might remain in peace, just as the Christian expected to reach heaven if he succeeded in passing the dangers of the way.

Many of the popular books of the Egyptians describing the *Tuat,* or the world of the dead, agree that the soul must pass a series of dangers, or better, that the *Tuat* contained many districts, or "halls," or "fields," or "cities," or "circles," as they were variously termed, through which the soul must pass. Each of these districts had its own gate, or door, and its gods, or guardians of the gate who, though only a part of the whole system of the underworld, had absolute power over their district. The soul passed from one district directly into the next, the exit from one being the entrance into the one following. In order to pass

hinder me. Lo Lord, I fulfilled Thy will and became a slave, for the sake of this freedom which I am receiving today. Do Thou, Lod Jesus, give (it) to me and fulfil it with me; for I am in no doubt whatever regarding Thy truth and Thy love, but for the sake of these who are standing (by) that they may hear, I speak before Thee" (Wright, *Ibid.,* p. 296). These "Acts" are known in Greek, Latin, and Syriac versions. Mr. Burkitt claims that the original language of the *Acts of Thomas* was Syriac (*Journ. Theolog. Studies,* I, 1899, 280).

[35] There may be Persian influence in the tradition of the struggle between the forces of good and evil. The idea of the series of dangers which constitutes the *propre* of our legend is Egyptian.

through these gates the soul must know the name of the district he was entering, and also the names of the gods ruling over it. Sometimes also to pass them successfully, the soul must recite certain prayers, or sentences, or magical words. If he did not know these pass-words, he was forthwith annihilated.

In the *Book Am-Tuat* and the *Book of Gates*,[36] the *Tuat* is conceived to be the country through which the sun god, Ra, passed during the night. It contained twelve divisions corresponding to the twelve hours of the night. The souls of those who had died during the day waited on the border of the first hour until evening when the sun entered the underworld. Then if they were supplied with the proper pass-words they might enter the boat of Ra and pass through the dangers of the underworld under his protection.

Like most of the gods of the Egyptians, the greater number of these gods of the otherworld had heads of animals. Some of them carried "slaughtering knives," some spat forth fire—all became dreadful and horrible to the poor souls not able to pass them. These districts, moreover, abounded in other terrors which the soul must face: lakes of fire, serpents and crocodiles of various kinds, blazing flames, and streams of Amentet. In the *Book of the Dead*, the soul prays to be delivered from the "god who liveth upon the damned; whose face is that of a hound, but whose skin is that of a man; at that angle of the pool of fire; devouring shades, digesting human hearts and voiding ordure." [37]

Other prayers show similar fears.

[36] Translated by Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, London. 1906.

[37] Tr. Renouf, ch. 17, p. 39.

Deliver me from those Wardens of the Passages with hurtful fingers, attendant upon Osiris.[38]

Oh ye Seven Divine Masters, who are the arms of the Balance on the Night wherein the Eye is fixed; ye who strike off the heads and cleave the necks, who seize the hearts and drag forth the whole hearts, and accomplish the slaughter in the Tank of Flame: ye whom I know and whose names I know, know you me as I know your name.[39]

Deliver thou him from the worms which are in Re-stau, which live upon the bodies of men and women, and which feed upon their blood, for Osiris, the favored one of the god of his city, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Amen, victorious, knoweth you, and he knoweth your names. [Let this be] the first bidding of Osiris Neb-er-tcher who keepeth hidden his body. May he give air [and escape] from the Terrible One who dwelleth in the Bight of the Stream of Amentet, and may he decree the actions of him that is rising up. Let him pass on unto him whose throne is within the darkness, who giveth glory in Re-stau. O lord of light, come thou and swallow up the worms which are in Amentet.[40]

The prayers for guidance, too, are very much the same.

O ye who unclose the ways and open the roads to beneficent souls in the house of Osiris, unclose then the ways and open the roads to the soul of N who is with you, let him enter boldly and come forth in peace at the house of Osiris, without hindrance and without repulse. Let him enter at his pleasure and go forth at his will, triumphantly with you; and let that be executed which he shall order in the house of Osiris.[41]

Oh! Ra of the Ament, who hast created the earth, who lightest the gods of the empyrean, Ra who art in thy disk, guide him on the road to the Ament, that he may reach the hidden spirits; guide him on the road which belongs to him, guide him on the Western road; that he may traverse the sphere of Ament, guide him on the road to the Ament, that the king may worship those who are in

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[39] *Ibid.*, ch. 71, p. 139.

[40] Budge, *Books on Egypt and Chaldaea*, VI, ch. I. B, pp. 47-8. This chapter is not contained in Renouf's translation, because it "is found in so very few copies that the text cannot as yet be restored" (pp. 10-11). He notes, however, that this chapter was known down to the Roman period.

[41] *Book of the Dead*, tr. Renouf, p. 2.

the hidden dwelling, guide him on the road to the Ament, make him descend to the sphere of Nun.[42]

These prayers and fears are almost identically the same as those we have found in the Christian texts. The "seven æons of darkness" are the districts the soul must pass.[43] The beings with heads of animals are the guardians of the various districts; and what else are the "officers of the abyss," or "those who are by the gates" whom Mary and Joseph feared?

In some of the homilies we have even the idea that these spirits[44] were definitely connected with different portions of the way,[45] as were the Egyptian gods, or guardians. In some the soul was conducted by angels

[42] *Records of the Past*, Series I, VIII, 113.

[43] Mr. Robinson, the editor of the *Death of Joseph*, notes that in the *Book of the Dead, Papyrus of Ani* (ed. Budge, p. 291) there is a series of seven *arits* through which the soul must pass (p. 227). M. Revillout has translated several paragraphs from this portion of the *Death of Joseph*, and remarked its similarity to the earlier Egyptian texts (*Rev. Égypt.* II, 65, 66-7).—Mr. Boswell (*An Irish Precursor of Dante*, pp. 89-90) refers to the belief that souls must undergo a series of trials as capable of being referred to an Egyptian or a Hellenic origin, though he thinks probably the latter assumption is the correct one. I should state, however, that Mr. Boswell is here speaking primarily of the Rabbinical schools, though he refers also to the "early Christian divines."

[44] In origin, then, the spirits of the air are the same as the angels who take souls. And what I have said of the tendency of those angels to become identified with the demons applies equally here—with the difference that these spirits are not conceived of as servants of God in any of the Christian texts. The antithesis between them and the good angels is brought out in all the versions: but they were not, strictly speaking, demons. The word demon occurs very little; otherwise they are called "spirits," "powers," "exactors," "inquisitors," etc.

[45] This is not inconsistent with my former statement that the *telonia* and their spirits were the counterparts of travels on earth, for, after all, the idea of the Egyptian other-world is the same.

who answered for its sins and bore all the brunt of the encounter, while the soul itself stood aside, just as the Egyptian believed that his soul would enter the boat of Ra and be protected therein until he reached the abode of the blessed spirits.

We can go further. The identification of the different members of a series of dangers with the different sins, occurs in the Negative Confession. The soul on entering the Hall of *Maat*, or Justice, where the forty-two gods were sitting, must address in turn each of these gods by his proper name and declare its innocence of the particular sin for which that god would otherwise hold him responsible, exactly as in the homilies of Cyril, Origen, and the others it had to declare its innocence of the sins of which the spirits accused it. These gods of the Negative Confession did not demand that the soul be good, or that it have done good deeds. They required only that it be innocent of crime. So in the Christian texts the soul ascends to heaven not by virtue of any good deeds, but only if it is not stopped by the spirits accusing it of sin. Even when the angels tell its good deeds, it is not to betoken any particular merit, but only to balance the recital of its evil deeds on the part of the spirits. The Egyptian gods were not strictly identified as the gods of the different sins, as were the later spirits. This change, however, is unimportant, and may be counted as one of the Christian modifications of the tradition.

These Christian modifications are numerous and obvious. They are, however, only modifications. The foundation and much of the super-structure remain Egyptian.

V

THE TOUR OF THE UNIVERSE

The soul, under the guidance of angels, was supposed to visit earth, heaven, and hell during the time which elapsed between its separation from the body and its judgment by God.[1] In many respects this is the most clearly defined of all the beliefs about the soul at the time of death, though its origins are rather obscure. The reason for the tour, however, is clear: the good soul is to behold the punishments of the wicked that it may be properly grateful for its deliverance from them, while the *sera pœnitentia* of the evil soul is to be increased by the sight of the joys it might have obtained.

1. The Spurious Homily of Macarius

The Spurious Homily of Macarius,[2] though of late date, may conveniently be taken as the norm by which to

[1] Dr. M. R. James (*Test. Abr.*, p. 122) calls attention to the belief that souls made a tour of the world just after death, and notes its presence in *IV Esdras*, the *Pistis Sophia*, the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, and the Spurious Homily of Macarius. In addition he notes several versions in which the visit is made in the body. To them might be added the Talmudic legends in which the Rabbis demand of the Death-angel the privilege of seeing their places in heaven before death. Cf. *Jüd. Litt.* I, 276. The souls of the martyrs, too, are said to have been carried to heaven and shown their future joys, to give the martyrs, strength to endure the tortures. Cf. Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte*, pp. 33, 47 ff., 105.

[2] In referring to this homily I have adopted the very convenient title used by Dr. James.

study this belief, because it is detailed and explicit. Macarius asks the angel with whom he is walking, why prayers are offered for the dead on the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death.[3] The angel answers:

[3] The particular days mentioned in this sermon offer interesting occasions for study, though they are not found in the other versions stating the belief in the soul's tour of the universe. The six days and the thirty days are, of course, the divisions of the week and month. The Catholic Church still recommends that prayers be offered for the dead on the third, seventh, and thirtieth days after burial; the periods not being added together as in the Macarius homily. The Talmud connects these days with the periods for mourning. "*Weinet nicht über einen Toten, noch beklaget ihn;* weinet nicht zu sehr über einen Toten, noch beklagt ihn übermässig.—Wieviel?—Drei Tage für das Weinen, sieben Tage für das Klagen und dreissig Tage bezüglich geglätteter Gewänder und des Haarschneidens" (Tr. Goldschmidt, III, 772). In another place it is said the soul of man grieves for him seven days (*Ibid.* I, 704). Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* IV, 25 (*P. G.* 8, 1367).—*Again* Mr. Frazer (*Golden Bough*, I, 351) tells us that "on the third, sixth, ninth, and fortieth days after the funeral the old Prussians and Lithuanians used to prepare a meal, to which, standing at the door, they invited the soul of the deceased." Thus we reach back to the time when prayers for the dead took the shape of offerings, as among the Ancient Egyptians. Indeed the Decree of Canopus (B. C. 238) (*Records of the Past*, Series I, VIII, 86, 16-17) mentions days of festival almost the same: "Inasmuch as was celebrated the festival of the Benevolent Gods in all temples in each month on the fifth, ninth, and twenty-fifth days in consequence of a decree established before." Monthly and mid-monthly feasts were quite common among the Egyptians (Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records Series, Egypt*, I, 630, 655 n. b., IV, 144, etc.) and may have occasioned the prayers or feasts on the thirtieth day, but I find no satisfactory evidence of the week as a common period for festivals. The number of four days, however, occurs in several passages which may advantageously be compared with the three days of the Christian writings. In the Inscription of King Nastosenen, of the 32nd Dynasty (*Records of the Past*, Series I, X, 61, 4-5), when recounting the honor done to Amen, he says: "I went down unto the pyramid, and lay wrapped there four nights, and made all kinds of offerings four days"; and in the Great Mendes Stele, of the 32nd Dynasty (*Ibid.*,

Nil inopportune neque inutiliter in ecclesia sua fieri concessit Deus, coelestia vero et terrena ipsius mysteria in ecclesia sua fieri concessit Deus et celebrari jussit. Tertio enim die facta in ecclesia oblatione levamen doloris, quem a corpore separata subiit, ab angelo ipsam apprehendente accipit anima defuncta, quoniam gratiarum actio et oblatio pro ipsa in ecclesia Dei apparata est; et exinde bonam spem concipit anima. Per duos enim dies permittitur animae, ab angelis sui satellitibus stipatae, in terra, ubicunque velit, obambulare. Quae corporis igitur amori mancipata est anima, aliquando domum, a qua separata est, circumvagatur, nonnunquam sepulchrum, in quo reconditum est corpus; et ad hunc modum biduum exigit, portus ad instar cadaver suum quaerens. Pia vero anima ad locos, in quibus justitiam operari consuevit, abit. Tertio autem die omnes Christianorum animas ad coelos adduci jubet, qui die tertio e mortuis resurrexit, Christus omnium Deus, ut resurrectionem ipsius imitatae Deum omnium creaturarum adorent. Bene igitur morem istum retinet ecclesia, ut oblationem et orationem die tertio pro anima faciat. Post adoratum igitur Deum ab illo mandatur, ut diversa amoenaque sanctorum habitacula et paradisi pulchritudo animae ostendantur. Ista omnia perdiscit anima sex integris diebus Deum omnium conditorem admirans et collaudans. Illa omnia videns anima derepente mutatur et doloris sui, quem in corpore posita patiebatur, obliviscitur. Sin vero peccatis obnoxia sit, cum sanctorum voluptates videt, contristari seipsamque condemnare incipit . . . Postquam totum justorum gaudium sex diebus anima inspectaverit, rursus ab angelis ad adorandum Deum adducitur. Bene igitur ecclesia die nona liturgias pro defuncto offert et oblationem celebrat. Post secundam autem adorationem rursus ab omnium rerum Domino mandatur, ut in infernum deducatur anima, et poenarum loca ibi posita, diversaque inferorum claustra, et diversae illi ostendantur impiorum poenae, quibus assidentes peccatorum animae assiduo lugent ac dentes stridunt. Per hasce poenarum diversitates circumfertur anima dies triginta, contremiscens, ne

VIII, 98, 11-12): "In the year 15, month Pachons the tenth day was appointed for the Queen's holy consecration and her introduction into the temple after the divine Lady had received the holy anointing, during an interval of four days, she reappeared as a consecrated soul." The four days in connection with the deification of a goddess occur again in the Decree of Canopus (*Ibid.* VIII, 89, 28-9): "So shall be ordered a feast and procession for the Queen Berenike, the daughter of the Benevolent Gods, . . . from the 17th day, when happened the procession for her, and purification on account of her mourning for four days."

et ipsa forsitan in illo loco incarcerari condemnetur. Die quadragesimo sursum iterum ad adorandum Deum reducitur; et tunc secundum opera illius locum illi, ubi in aeternum asservetur, indicet judex. Bene igitur in ecclesia celebratur in defunctorum et baptizatorum memoriam. De animabus vero, quae sacrum baptisma nunquam receperunt, res sese pari modo non habet, sed in eo casu angeli inclementes animas non baptizatas e corpore accipiunt, verberantes illas et dicentes: Adesdum, impia anima; quis Dominus tuus omniumque Deus, quem scire noluisti, in mundo secura degens? Nunc vero eum agnosce aeternis addicta poenis. Dein ad primum usque coelum illam adducentes, eam sistunt, illique longinquo ostendunt angelorum omniumque coelestium potestatum gloriam dicentes: Istorum omnium Dominus est Jesus Christus Dei vivi filius, quem agnoscere et adorare noluisti. Apage abhinc vero ad tui similes impios eorumque principem diabolum abducta in aeternum ignem apparatum diabolo atque angelis ejus, quos in vivis adhuc posita tanquam Deos adorasti.[4]

This is the only version in which the divisions of the soul's tour are identified with days on which prayers are offered for the dead, and the only one in which souls are divided into classes of baptized and unbaptized. Both are churchly influences and evidences of late date.

2. The "Pistis Sophia"

There is a very interesting parallel between the Spurious Homily of Macarius and the *Pistis Sophia* with regard

[4] *P. G.* 34, 390-1. According to the early part of this homily Macarius is seen walking with two angels; they come to a corpse which smells very badly and Macarius stops his nose, the angels do likewise. Upon Macarius' asking they say that they are not sensible to the stench of the world, but only to the stench of sinful souls. This part of the homily—though told of an old man, not of Macarius—is to be found in the *Vitae Patrum* (*P. L.*, 73, 1014) and, as M. Batiouchkof (*Romania*, 20, 39) has pointed out, in a manuscript at Naples. I call attention to the *Vitae Patrum* account here because M. Batiouchkof has argued, on the basis of the Italian manuscript, that the entire homily must have been known in the Middle Ages.

to the tour. In each we have a triple division of souls under two general headings. In the Macarius homily, as we have seen, souls are divided into the unbaptized, and the good and bad souls of the baptized. In the *Pistis Sophia* they are divided into the initiated and the good and bad souls of the uninitiated. In each the members of the double class (the good and evil baptized in the Macarius homily, and the good and evil uninitiated in the *Pistis Sophia*) are oddly enough the only souls which are shown the universe. Of the other souls, the pagan soul is too mean to be allowed to see the glories of heaven; the initiated soul is too holy to be detained away from the kingdom of light. So, the souls of those who have received the mystery of the light become jets of light and mount straightway into the kingdom of light, without let or hindrance.[5] Other angels take the soul which is just—though uninitiated—from the "Pacific Receivers,"—

. . . und verbringen drei Tage, indem sie mit ihr in allen Kreaturen der Welt kreisen.[6] Nach drei Tagen führen sie sie hinab zum Chaos, um sie in alle Strafen der Gerichte zu führen und zu allen Gerichten zu senden. Und die Feuer des Chaos belästigen sie nicht sehr, sondern belästigen sie teilweise auf kurze Zeit. Und mit Eifer eilends erbarmen sie sich ihrer, führen sie aus dem Chaos herauf und führen sie auf den Weg der Mitte durch alle jene Archonten, und nicht strafen sie (sc. die Archonten) sie in ihren harten Gerichten, sondern das Feuer ihrer Oerter belästigt sie teilweise. Und wenn sie zu dem Orte des Jachthanabas, des Unbarmherzigen, gebracht wird,

[5] Pp. 226-8, Tr. Amélineau, p. 116.

[6] "Die Lehre der Aegypter, dass die Seele nach dem Tode zur Läuterung durch Tierleiber wandern müsse, ist nicht ganz aufgegeben, denn aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach wird der Verfasser bei den Worten: 'die παραλ. bringen mit ihr drei Tage zu, indem sie dieselbe über die Geschöpfe des Kosmos belehren' auch daran gedacht haben." Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften, Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1892, VIII, 417, n. 2. Cf. p. 79, n. 11.

so vermag er sie freilich in seinen bösen Gerichten nicht zu strafen, aber er hält sie kurze Zeit fest indem das Feuer seiner Strafen sie teilweise belästigt. Und wiederum eilends erbarmen sie sich ihrer und führen sie aus jenen ihren Oertern hinauf, und nicht bringen sie sie in die Aeonen, damit nicht die Archonten der Aeonen sie raubend wegtragen, sondern bringen sie auf den Weg des Lichtes der Sonne und bringen sie vor die Lichtjungfrau.[7]

The lot of the soul which has sinned is different in many details. The "Pacific Receivers" take the soul from the body and then pass three days on earth, "indem sie mit jener Seele in allen Oertern herumkreisen und sie zu allen Aeonen der Welt schicken." [8] In its passage through Chaos up to the Virgin of Light the sinful soul endures greater punishment than the just, but in general their tours are the same.[9]

In the fourth book of the *Pistis Sophia* Jesus tells His disciples the exact amount of time the various sinners will have to remain in each of the places of torment.[10] In the case of all but the worst sinners the "receivers" are said to spend the three days on earth teaching the soul the creatures of the world.[11] The souls of the worst sinners, however, are bound to a demon with the face of a horse, which carries them over the earth during the three days.

[7] Tr. Schmidt, pp. 261-2.

[8] Tr. Schmidt, p. 284.

[9] The evil soul is said to be followed by the counterfeit of the spirit and destiny, and in Chaos the "Pacific Receivers" retire, turning the soul over to these two spirits. These details should be compared with the *Visio Pauli* but they do not concern us here.

[10] Pp. 379 ff. Tr. Amélineau, pp. 197 ff.

[11] Even the soul of the man just, though uninitiated, whose lot is repeated here along with the sinners. I can not help feeling that the earlier paragraph—which Schmidt interprets as a relic of the Egyptian belief in metempsychosis—is an error, and that it should read as the others: the soul should spend three days in going through the world, or in learning the creatures of the world.

3. The Pachomius Vision and the "Apocalypse of Elias"

The vision of Pachomius differs from the preceding texts in that the evil soul is cast immediately into the bottom of Amenti;[12] the good soul, on the other hand, makes the tour of the universe:

Et lorsque l'âme est sortie du corps dans le vêtement, l'un des Anges prend les deux extrémités du vêtement par derrière, et l'autre par devant, comme pour un corps que lèvent les hommes de la terre; et l'autre Ange chante en avant dans une langue que personne ne connaît,[13] pas même ceux qui virent cette vision, qui sont notre père Pakhôme et Théodore, car ils ne surent pas ce que les Anges chantaient: ils entendirent seulement l'Ange chantant et disant: *Alleluia.* C'est ainsi qu'ils marchent avec l'âme, dans l'air, vers l'orient, marchant non à la manière des hommes qui marchent avec leur pieds, mais glissant dans leur marche comme l'eau qui coule, parce que ce sont des esprits. Ils marchent avec l'âme vers les hauteurs, afin qu'elle voie les bornes de la terre habitée depuis une extrémité jusqu'à l'autre, qu'elle voie toute la création et qu'elle rende gloire à Dieu qui l'a créée. Après cela on lui montre le lieu de son repos, selon l'ordre du Seigneur, afin qu'après qu'elle sera allée dans le lieu de son repos à cause des bonnes œuvres qu'elle a faites, elle connaisse aussi les châtiments dont elle a été sauvée et qu'ainsi elle bénisse encore davantage le Seigneur qui l'a sauvée de toutes ces souffirances par les bontés de Notre Seigneur Jésus le Christ. Ensuite on la remet à l'homme de Dieu qui lui a enseigné la crainte du Seigneur et qui l'a nourrie dans sa loi, afin que lui aussi la présente au Seigneur comme un don et que, désormais, elle apparaisse bénissant le Seigneur et dise: "Je te bénirai, mon Seigneur, avec tous tes saints.[14]

In the *Apocalypse of Elias* the departure of a good soul,

[12] P. 127.

[13] The conduct of the Virgin's body to the tomb as described in the *Falling Asleep of Mary* is very similar to the description here. Cf. *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.* pp. 61, 79, 111-3.

[14] Pp. 123-4.

as I have said, is not described. Of the hideous angels who take evil souls we read:

Sie schweben drei Tage lang mit ihnen in der Luft umher, bevor sie sie nehmen und in ihre ewige Strafe werfen.[15]

The first fragment of the Sahidic Manuscript [16] of this apocalypse contains another, varying, account of the soul's tour of the world.

Ich sah eine Seele, die fünftausend Engel peinigten und bewachten, indem sie sie nach Osten nahmen und nach Westen führten, und indem sie ihre (der Seele) . . . schlugen und indem jeder ihr täglich hundert Schläge mit Geisseln gaben.[17]

The prophet asks the angel who the soul is, and is answered:

Dies ist eine Seele, die in ihren Sünden gefunden und, bevor sie dazu gekommen war, Busse zu thun, heimgesucht und aus ihrem Körper entführt wurde.[18]

4. "The Fourth Book of Ezra"

The passage in the *IV Book of Ezra* is quite different from any we have studied thus far.

Nam de morte sermo: quando profectus fuerit terminus sententiae ab altissimo ut homo moriatur, recedente inspiratione de corpore ut dimittatur iterum ad eum qui dedit illam adorare gloriam altissimi primum. Et si quidem esset eorum qui spreuerunt et non seruauerunt uiam altissimi et eorum qui contempserunt legem eius et eorum qui oderunt eos qui timent deum. Haec inspirationes in habitationes non ingredientur, sed uagantes erunt amodo in crucia-

[15] Ed. Steindorff, p. 150.

[16] Steindorff classes this fragment as properly a part of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*.

[17] P. 169. [18] P. 170.

mentis, dolentes semper et tristes, per septem uias. Via prima, quia spreuerunt legem altissimi. Secunda uia, quia iam non possunt reuersionem bonam facere ut uiuant. Tertia uia, uidebunt repositam mercedem his qui testamentis altissimi crediderunt. Quarta uia, considerabunt sibi in nouissimis repositum cruciamentum. Quinta uia, uidentes aliorum habitacula ab angelis conseruari cum silentio magno. Sexta uia, uidentes quoniam amodo de eis pertransient in cruciamentum. Septima uia, quae omnium supra dictarum uiarum maior est, quoniam detabescent in confusione et consumentur in honoribus et marcescent in timoribus, uidentes gloriam altissimi coram quo uiuentes peccauerunt et coram quo incipient in nouissimis temporibus iudicari. Nam eorum qui uias seruauerunt altissimi ordo est hic, quando separari incipient a uaso corruptibili. In eo tempore commoratae seruierunt cum labore altissimo et omni hora sustinuerunt periculum, uti perfecte custodirent legislatoris legem: Propter quod hic de his sermo: Inprimis uident cum exultatione multa gloriam eius qui suscipit eas, requiescent enim per septem ordines. Ordo primus, quoniam cum labore multo certati sunt ut uincerent cum eis plasmatum cogitamentum malum, ut non eas seducat a uita ad mortem. Secundus ordo, quoniam uident complicationem in quo uagantur impiorum animae et quae in eis manet punitio. Tertius ordo, uidentes testimonium quod testificatus est eis qui plasmauit eas, quoniam uiuentes seruauerunt quae per fidem data est lex. Quartus ordo, intellegentes requiem quam nunc in promptuariis eorum congregati requiescent cum silentio multo ab angelis conseruati, et quae in nouissimis eorum manet gloria. Quintus ordo, exultantes quomodo corruptibile effugerint nunc, et futurum quomodo hereditatem possidebunt, adhuc autem uidentes angustum et [labore] plenum, a quo liberati sunt, et spatiosum incipient recipere, fruiscentes et inmortales. Sextus ordo, quando eis ostendetur quomodo incipiet uultus eorum fulgere sicut sol, et quomodo incipient stellarum adsimilari lumini, amodo non corrupti. Septimus ordo, qui est omnibus supradictis maior, quoniam exultabunt cum fiducia et quoniam confidebunt non confusi et gaudebunt non reuerentes, festinant enim uidere uultum eius cui seruiunt uiuentes et a quo incipiunt gloriosi mercedem recipere. Hic ordo animarum iustorum ut amodo adnuntiatur; praedictae uiae cruciatus quas patiuntur amodo qui neglexerint.

Et respondi et dixi: ergo dabitur tempus animabus, postquam separatae fuerint de corporibus, ut uideant de quo mihi dixisti? Et dixit mihi: septem diebus erit libertas earum ut uideant septem diebus qui praedicti sunt sermones, et postea congregabuntur in habitaculis suis.[19]

[19] Ch. VII, vv. 78-101.

The manner of expression is responsible for the chief obscurities of this text, which at bottom conforms to the usual belief in the soul's tour of heaven and hell. The one important difference is that after death the soul does not remain on earth. The seven "ways" of the evil soul and the seven "orders" of the good, however, assure to both good and evil the knowledge of the joys of the blessed and the punishments of the wicked—the purpose of all the tours of heaven and hell. This knowledge, also, is for the evil a punishment, and for the good, a satisfaction, just as in the Spurious Homily of Macarius; and the seven days correspond to the week, or six days, spent in heaven in that same homily.

5. The "Visio Pauli"

The seven days of the tour appear again in the *Visio Pauli*. Such at least I take to be the meaning of the soul's being conducted to "places it had never seen" by the two "angels without mercy" who had removed it from its body.

Et iterum uidi, et ecce anima que adducebatur a duobus angelis flens et dicens: Miserere mei, deus iustus, deus iudex; hodie enim septem dies habeo ex quo exiui de corpore meo, et tradita sum duobus angelis istis et perduxerunt me ad ea loca que nunquam uideram. Et ait ei deus iustus iudex: Quid fecisti? tu enim misericordiam nunquam fecisti, propterea tradita es talibus angelis qui non abent misericordiam, et quia non fecisti rectum, ideo neque tecum pie gesserunt in hora necessitatis tuae.[20]

[20] P. 19. With this paragraph one should compare a similar version of the tour from the *Martyrdom of St. Macarius of Antioch:* "Ils arrachèrent mon âme de mon corps, avec une grande férocité, et s'enfuirent avec elle sur un grand fleuve de feu, ou ils me plongérent à une profondeur de 400 coudées environ; puis ils me retirèrent et me

In the Syriac version it is expressly stated that the soul was tormented these seven days, and that the places were "dreadful." To this version the *Pistis Sophia* offers a very close analogy, in that the soul is tortured in Chaos before being brought to judgment before God. The torment which the soul receives cannot be construed too literally, however, as necessarily referring only to the passage through Hades, for in *IV Ezra* and the Spurious Homily of Macarius the sight of heaven was itself torment for the evil soul.

6. Analysis

These texts differ so widely one from the other that it is difficult to determine their fundamental unity and their common origin. In the first place, however, we may notice that this idea of the soul's tour of the universe is not the theme of the visit to heaven and hell, popular from the time of Plato on through the Middle Ages.[21] Those apocalypses and legends always contain descriptions, more or less detailed, of the other world—in fact it is their *raison d'être*. And for the better attainment of this purpose the visitor is usually accompanied by a guide who explains and interprets all the places and people visited. This view of the other world was necessarily restricted to the few. There were the prophets who, either in the flesh or in a vision, saw the joys of the blessed and the torments of the damned and afterwards told of them for

mirent en présence du Juge de vérité. Et j'entendis une sentence sortir de sa bouche:—Emportez de devant moi cette âme qui s'est fait des dieux de ces démons, et qui a renié le Dieu qui l'a créée. Qu'elle sache maintenant, que Dieu est au plus haut des cieux" (Hyvernat, *Les Actes des Martyrs de Égypte*, p. 56).

[21] See Boswell, *op. cit.* Part II.

the edification or entertainment of the living; and there were the dead who, for some reason,—either because the death-angel had made a mistake, or because they needed more time on earth to profit by their greater knowledge of the other world,—were allowed to re-animate their bodies and tell what they had seen. In all these essentials the tradition we have been studying differs from the "Descent into Hades." It contains no descriptions of the other world, the soul does not return to earth, and the "tour" is described as the natural progress of every soul just after death—a journey, moreover, which could not be made before death.

This point is worth making because the "Descent into Hades," being so widely known, is the first motive which suggests itself in connection with the tour after death, and because the "Descent" probably influenced some versions of our tradition. For example, the "seven ways" of *IV Ezra*, as Professor Charles has pointed out,[22] are probably derived from the Jewish conception of the seven heavens, which figured so prominently in their apocalypses.

Again, in certain details the "tour" exhibits apparent likenesses to other motives with which it has no real connection. The three days on earth correspond to the three days between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, the forty days before the judgment, to the length of time Christ spent on earth after His Resurrection, the seven days, to the seven heavens, or to the seven days of the week.

The belief that the soul stayed on earth for three days after its separation from the body seems to come directly from the Persians. They taught that the soul hovered near its body for three days after death, experiencing joy

[22] *Slavonic Enoch*, Introd., p. xxxviii.

or pain according as it had been good or evil on earth. On the fourth day the soul flew from the earth, wafted by a breeze which was either sweet or foul smelling according as the soul had been good or evil in the world. Then came the passage over the river of fire by the narrow bridge where good and evil spirits struggled for the possession of it, and afterwards the judgment.[23]

The second passage from the *Apocalypse of Elias,* to the effect that souls are driven from East to West, finds a close parallel in the Talmud in a commentary on *I Sam.* xxv, 29. " Ein Engel steht an dem einen Ende der Welt und ein anderer Engel steht am andern Ende der Welt und sie schleudern sich die Seelen gegenseitig zu." [24]

[23] Geiger, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie,* II, 684. In a great many legends events are placed on the third day after death, though it is impossible to say how far they express the belief that the soul remained on earth for those three days. In the Bohairic account of the *Falling Asleep of Mary,* Jesus commands that Mary's body be laid in the tomb and watch kept over it for three and a half days (*Copt. Apoc. Gosp.* p. 61). Abraham is buried on the third day and his soul adores God who orders that it be taken to Paradise to be with the saints (James, *Test. Abr.* § xx). Job's sons weep so much at his death they prevent his being buried before the third day (Migne, *Dict. des Apocryphes,* II, 418). A Russian believer in Occultism told me a body should not be buried before the third day, because that time was necessary for the soul to leave its body. Roman Catholics, too, I believe, never bury before the third day. One might compare also the Adam books (cf. Dr. Hort on *Books of Adam,* in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*). In the *Conflict of Adam and Eve,* the body of Adam is borne on the ark, and after the flood it is carried, under the guidance of Michael, for three days before the right spot is reached at which to leave it. In the *Story and Conversation of Adam,* Michael tells Adam he must die within three days. In Plutarch's treatise *On the Tardy Vengeance of God,* Soleus was about to be buried on the third day after his apparent demise when his senses returned and he related what he had seen in the other-world (Boswell, *op. cit.,* p. 60). Cf. also Frazer, *Golden Bough,* I, 350-351.

[24] *Jüd. Litt.,* I, 245. The Jews also taught that the soul stayed

These passages, moreover, suggest comparison with the *Pistis Sophia* accounts in which the evil soul is tied to a horse-faced demon and carried over the world for three days. The *Apocalypse of Elias* is so very fragmentary that one cannot be sure whether the driving from East to West occurs on earth, or whether it is one of the punishments in hell.[25]

In none of these points does the tradition in question show points of contact with Egyptian belief. The Egyptian soul did not linger near its body for several days after death,[26] nor did it experience any especial pain or pleasure while it remained on earth. On the other hand, the *Vision of Pachomius* states the Egyptian belief almost exactly. The soul as soon as it left its body went to the West, to the heights separating this world from the otherworld. There it waited until sunset when Ra passed through the "gap" in the mountains to the land of the dead. The soul if properly equipped was permitted to enter the boat of Ra, and passing through all the dangers of the way reached at last the judgment hall and the king-

near its body after death, for twelve months according to the Talmud (*Jüd. Litt.*, I, 246; Tr. Goldschmidt, I, 705), or until the nose began to rot according to the Midrash Tehillim (*Jüd. Litt.*, I, 590). The same belief probably accounts for the statement in the Talmud that the dead hears all that is said before the coffin is closed, or until the flesh is rotted (Tr. Goldschmidt, I, 704).

[25] In the *Fis Adamnáin* souls in hell are seen running from East to West while the demons rain red-hot arrows on them (Boswell, *op. cit.*, p. 42).

[26] The belief that the soul was nourished by the offerings in the tomb, or that it could return to its body if it "came forth by day," seems to me quite distinct. The belief that the soul stayed near its body for some time is probably an expression of a belief that it takes some time for the soul to get out of its body, for, as the Jews believed, the soul was scattered through the entire body. Cf. Appendix A., pp. 156 ff.

dom of Osiris.[27] Even in those texts which relate the Osiris legend alone and which have nothing to do with the Ra myth, the other world was separated from this world by heights, or the "mountain of the West," which the soul must cross, it must then pass all the dangers of the way until at last, aided probably by Thot, or Hathor, or some other god, it reached the kingdom of Osiris, which was in the East, or Northeast. The texts are not always clear, nor do I find that Egyptologists agree in their interpretation of them. The following points, however, appear to be certain: To reach the other world the soul must cross the heights and must pass through a place filled with dangers, which by a simple transference of ideas corresponds to the Christian hell, and which, for that matter, formed the only hell in Egyptian eschatology. At any rate the soul would experience the tortures before it reached the land of the just, and—if the Pachomius vision is expressing Egyptian tradition in this as in other points—it could look down from the heights and so behold the whole world, too, before its final resting in the kingdom of Osiris. In these particulars the Egyptian

[27] The Ethiopian *Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth* (*Patrologia Orientalis*, I, fasc. 1, p. 80), though dating from the 15th century, contains the Egyptian belief almost without change. Its fundamental resemblances to the Pachomius passage go far toward confirming me in my belief that the Egyptian belief was responsible for the Christian belief in the soul's tour of the world. The passage is as follows: "Et les âmes, lorsqu'elles sortent du corps, où vont-elles demeurer? dans la terre de leur création. Ainsi que le dit Hénoch: J'ai vu les âmes en quatre endroits, car il y a quatre portes du ciel, . . . Les âmes restent là pendant un jour, puis elles se présentent devant le créateur. Selon l'heure où elles sont sorties [du corps], les âmes des chrétiens se tiennent là (pendant un jour)." I have not found in any of the *Enoch* books the belief that souls waited at the gate of heaven for a day.

religion offers the closest parallel I know to the belief that every soul made a tour of the universe just after death.

Persian tradition does not offer such essential similarities, though it may be urged that from this source came the soul's tarrying three days on earth, and also the crossing of the bridge over the river of fire—a detail which certainly entered into the Christian conceptions of hell. On the other hand, according to Persian belief, the soul, during the three days it stayed near its body, acquired no new knowledge of the world, and the single detail of the fiery river could hardly be conceived as hell. More particularly, however, the idea of the strife between the good and evil spirits over the soul would seem too powerful to admit the growth of a belief that the soul was shown all the torments of hell merely as a spectator, while, again, the whole idea of the *Book of the Dead* is that if the soul is properly prepared for the journey these dangers will be powerless against it.

The reasons assigned for the "tour" vary and, like so many other elements in this belief, are not Egyptian. In the *Apocalypse of Elias* no reason is given. In the *Pistis Sophia* the tour is expiatory, being in this entirely foreign to Egyptian ideas. In the remaining texts, however, the idea seems to be, that after beholding the conditions on earth and in heaven and hell, the soul is better prepared to understand the judgment about to be passed upon it, and that by knowing the tortures of the evil souls the happiness of the good soul will be increased, while, on the other hand, the knowledge of the blessedness it might have attained becomes itself one of the tortures of the evil soul.[28] The reason given for the tour, in other words,

[28] This idea is not a very subtle one, and might be paralleled, I suppose, in other religions. A possible example of it in Christian

is not a reason at all, but only an explanation. It was commonly believed that the soul made a tour of the universe, and then reasons were invented or brought in to explain this belief. Conversely, the Spurious Homily of Macarius brings in the tour as an explanation of the fact that prayers were offered on the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death. The case is the same in the *Pistis Sophia,* else why must all souls except the initiated be introduced into every department of Chaos? If the tour were merely expiatory it would be much more natural for the souls to be sent to different sections of hell, as in the visions of hell, in accordance with the sins which they had committed.

If, on the other hand, in these tours made by the soul, we recognize as fundamental the idea of a tour of observation, it greatly strengthens the view that they are of Egyptian origin, even where their only point of agreement with the Egyptian beliefs consists in this one idea, that the soul passes over the earth and through hell in order to reach heaven. This view will explain at the same time the great diversities in the present texts, and the great number of foreign influences which appear in them.

literature is found in the New Testament (*Apocalypse*, XIV, 10) where the worshippers of the beast are said to be tormented forever in the presence of the angels and of the Lamb, apparently for the greater torture of the one party and the greater satisfaction of the other. (Compare also the Ethiopic *Enoch*, XLVIII, 8-9. Tr. Charles, p. 135.) The same situation is pretty clearly implied in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (*Luke*, XVI, 22-26), though it is not expressly stated that the rich man's discomfort was increased by the sight of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom.

VI

THE LATIN HOMILY

With this chapter we leave the examination of the Egyptian beliefs relating to the soul at the time of its separation from the body, and turn to the later developments of those beliefs in the legend of the Body and Soul. The most primitive form of the legend that has yet been indicated as a source for the later "speeches," and "debates," is a Latin homily.[1] This homily is known only in four variant versions. These, however, are sufficiently close to one another to enable us to postulate the original text with considerable exactness of detail. Two of the four versions are in Latin, two in Old English. The two Old English sermons printed respectively by Thorpe[2] and Napier,[3] are shorter than the other two, and are obviously dependent on a single Latin(?) version of the original homily. Of the Latin homilies, *Sermo* 69 of the *Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo*[4] is the more detailed and the more closely related to the important, later versions of the legend. The homily printed by Batiouchkof,[5] however, seems to represent the original more exactly; moreover it is unique in that it describes the death of a good man as well as that of a sinner.

[1] Cf. my article in *Journ. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, 8, 225-253. Throughout the remaining chapters frequent reference is made to the excellent article of M. Batiouchkof, "Le Débat de l'Ame et du Corps," *Romania* 20, 1 ff., 513 ff.

[2] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, II, 394-400.

[3] *Wulfstan*, pp. 140-141.

[4] *P. L.*, 40, 1355-7.

[5] *Romania*, 20, 576-8.

In studying these four sermons we shall consider them from two points of view: first, regarding them as representatives of the lost Latin homily, we inquire in what ways and to what extent they embody the Egyptian traditions we have been studying; second, viewing them as variant versions of that homily, we use them to illustrate the general tendencies in the Western development of these Egyptian motives. The treatment of the second theme will be short, and of the nature of a summary rather than of a comparative study of the four versions.

The identification of the Latin homily with the Egyptian traditions, however, I shall study in detail. To facilitate such an examination, I have divided the homily into a number of short scenes, which I shall present in the order of the narrative, though treating the good and evil souls on parallel lines. A single exception is made in the case of the speech of the soul to the body, which I postpone to the end. In this study I shall quote Batiouchkof's homily as the best representative of the lost original, referring to the other versions only when they seem to preserve a more primitive reading.

1. The Demons Around the Death-bed

In all the homilies the story is related as the vision of a man about to die. The soul comes to the mouth of the body and dares not go out because it sees a crowd of demons awaiting its exit. They threaten the soul, saying: "Quid est hoc, quare nos moramur? Forsitan venit angelus Michael cum angelorum [plebe] ut nos opprimat et illam animam quam per annos multos in nostris vinculis constrinximus nobis eripiat."

The mouth, as we have seen, was one of the usual exits

by which the soul left its body. Moreover the picture of the soul waiting in terror at the mouth is found in the Coptic *Death of Joseph:* "I put My hand in under his breast, and I found that his soul reached to his throat, for it was about to be brought up. And the messengers of death were waiting for him, that he should go forth from the body."[6]

In the demons who are waiting for the soul but who fear lest Michael and the angels may take it from them, we have an example of the confusion between the angels who take souls and the struggle between the spirits and angels over the soul. Moreover these demons still retain traces of their angelic origin for, a little later, they prick the various members of the body as punishment for the sins of those members.[7] Real demons would not take pains to justify their actions in this way.

In answer to the fear expressed by the demons that Michael will rescue the soul, one of them vouches for the soul's sinful character, saying that he has been with it day and night. This demon recalls the *Visio Pauli* and the *Death of Joseph.* In the former angels who have been with the souls day and night praise or blame them as they come forth from the body.[8] In the latter Joseph prays that the angel appointed unto him from the day of his birth may not "burn in his face with anger" as he comes toward the Lord.[9] A closer parallel, however, is found in the vision of the Abbot Macarius. The angel accuser given to the soul at the time of baptism identifies it as good, thereby saving it from the hands of the demons, just as in this homily the demon who stayed with the

[6] See above, p. 22.
[7] See below, p. 94.
[8] *Apoc. Anec.* I, 16, 18. Syriac version, pp. 192, 194.
[9] See above, p. 67.

soul identifies it as evil, thus saving it from the angels.[10] Nothing is said here of the attendant angel, or angel accuser: was this angel, then, conceived as a demon in the case of the hopelessly evil soul?[11]

2. The Separation of the Evil Soul from its Body

Postponing for the present the speech of the soul, we proceed to consider its separation from the body.

Tunc dixerunt qui custodes[12] erant: "Apprehendite eam et pungite oculos illius, quia quicquid vidit sive justum size injustum omnia concupivit. Pungite oriclos[13] illius, quia quicquid desiderabat sive ad manducandum sive ad bibendum sive ad loquendum nunquam parcebat. Pungite cor illius, ubi pietas nec misericordia nec caritas nec bonitas unquam ascendit. Pungite manus et pedes illius, quia ad malum faciendum currebant." Tunc extraxerunt animam miseram a corpore cum gemitu et dolore.[14]

This passage is probably the most interesting of the en-

[10] See above, p. 54.

[11] *Sermo* 69 seems to imply that there were *two* attendant angels: "diabolus angelus satanae, qui non in bono, sed in malo custos et instinctor ejus perstitit." This phrase is clearly a mistake. Cf. n. 12. The homily printed by Napier identifies the attendant demon as the one who inspires to evil: "and heo â ful georne hlyste mînre lâre and georne fyligde." This trait, however, is peculiar to Napier's homily.

[12] *Sermo* 69 represents a confusion of tradition in its identification of the speaker here with the attendant demon. For the attendant angel or demon had nothing to do with the actual removal of the soul from its body. M. Batiouchkof (p. 577, n. 2) suggests that the order to punish the members of the body should come from the guardian angel, or from God. The identification of these demons with the cruel angels of God divinely appointed to remove the souls of men, removes all difficulty on that point.

[13] See below, p. 96, n. 17.

[14] *Sermo* 69 is slightly more definite: "Tunc illam miseram animam de corpore ejectam sic membratim punientes . . ."

tire sermon, because it shows most plainly the author's perfect familiarity with similar ideas which we have found expressed in Coptic texts.

Compare the woes which Joseph uttered when about to die:

> Woe to me today. Woe to the day that my mother brought me forth into the world. Woe to the womb wherein I received seed of life. Woe to the breasts which I sucked. Woe to the knees on which I sat. Woe to the hands which carried me, until I grew up and became sinful. Woe to my tongue and my lips, for they have been engaged often in violence and in backbiting and in false slander and in idle words of jest, full of deceit. Woe to my eyes, for they have looked upon stumbling-blocks. Woe to my ears, for they have loved to hear vain words. Woe to my hands, for they have taken things which are not theirs. Woe to my stomach and bowels, for they have desired foods which are not theirs: and if it found anything, it would consume it more than a burning fiery furnace, and make it everywhere unprofitable. Woe to my feet, which served my body ill, taking it into no good ways. Woe to my body, for it hath made my soul waste and strange to God Who made it. . . . Truly this is the great trouble, which I saw upon Jacob my father, when he came forth from the body: it also hath overtaken me the wretched one today.[15]

Notice also that the members of the body enumerated in the Latin sermon are those by which the soul might make its exit, and remember that in several versions which we studied, the soul was removed from its body, as here, by means of sharp pointed spears or tridents. Lastly, recalling those versions in which the good soul was removed from its body by being rubbed with oil—a practice which seems connected with the sacrament of Extreme Unction — compare that sacrament with our

[15] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 136. Similar "woes" are uttered by Moses (*De Morte Mosis*, Gfoerer, p. 330). Cf. the series of "blesseds" in the *Falling Asleep of Mary* (*Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, pp. 60-61); and the enumeration of the members of the body in the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. IX, 179, ¶ XI.).

Latin sermon. The priest anoints the eyes saying: "Per istam sanctam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam, indulgeat tibi Dominus quidquid per visum deliquisti. Amen." Repeating the same formula with only the necessary changes, he then anoints the ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, feet, and sometimes the loins.[16] In the Latin homily it is the eyes, mouth,[17] heart, hands and feet which are mentioned.

[16] The rite of the Eastern Church is quite different, and not *à propos* at all, since it is not said that the body is anointed on the various members of the body for the sins of those members. The Coptic form, which is practically the same as that used in all the Eastern Orthodox Church, is as follows: "Deinde sacerdotes ungunt infirmum et singuli ex iis dicunt. Deus Pater, bone medice corporum et spirituum, qui misisti unigenitum tuum Filium Jesum Christum ad sanandas omnes infirmitates et ad liberandum a morte, sana servum tuum N. ab infirmitatibus corporis, et da ei vitam rectam, ut glorificet magnitudinem tuam et gratias agat gratiae tuae, ut perficiat voluntatem tuam. Propter gratiam Christi tui et intercessionem Dei Genitricis sanctissimae et orationes sanctorum, quia tu es fons salutis, et mittimus tibi sursum gloriam et honorem cum unigenito tuo Filio et Spiritu Sancto" (Denzinger, II, 497). These differences, however, support our theory, for in the Eastern Church the sacrament is only an anointing of the sick; the object being the restoration to health. It was never restricted to the dying as in the Western Church. See the article on Extreme Unction in the Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedia;* or, for early references to its celebration, that in the *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

[17] Batiouchkof's homily contains the words *oriclos*, a form I have been unable to find, the nearest word being *auricula* (or *oricula*). It is undoubtedly, I think, a form of the root found in *aures.* The rest of the sentence refers plainly to the mouth. In the other versions the word is *os, muδ.* We may suppose, therefore, that originally both the ears and mouth were mentioned, and that Batiouchkof's version represents a telescoping of the two, probably due to the scribe's carelessness. Later scribes seeing the mistake changed the *oriclos* to *os*: thus all mention of the ears was dropped out. If the ears were found in the original homily, then, with the exception of the nostrils—counting the heart as equivalent to the loins, both repre-

Summing up, we have in the sacrament and in the sermon two well-defined ways of removing souls from their bodies, the anointing of the good, and the pricking of the evil: in each this means is applied to those members by which the soul was supposed to make its exit. The enumeration of the sins of the various members, moreover, was not unknown in death-bed scenes. By the sacrament the good soul was freed from the sins of the individual members, by the pricking the evil soul was punished for them.

Unfortunately the origin of Extreme Unction is obscure, and its relation to the Latin sermon is on that account one of conjecture. The hypothesis that the form of the sacrament was influenced by a separation scene such as that in the homily, is *a priori* untenable. On the other hand, it is possible that the author of the homily was influenced by the wording of the sacrament, though he did not think of the anointing of the good soul as a counterpart to the pricking in the case of the evil soul. I cannot, however, persuade myself that such is the case. A more natural hypothesis is that the homily and the sacrament represent parallel, though independent modifications of the early Coptic belief in the pleasant or painful exit of the good or evil soul. The existence of a separate enumeration such as the "woes" of Joseph makes this hypothesis tenable. Or we may suppose—and this seems to me the most probable hypothesis—that the scene describing the evil soul's exit took on details from the sacrament because it was recognized

senting the main part of the body in contradistinction to the limbs and head—the parts of the body anointed in the sacrament of Extreme Unction, and those mentioned in the Latin homily are the same. The order, too, differs but little; in Batiouchkof's homily the heart is mentioned before the hands and feet, while in the sacrament the anointing of the loins comes last.

that the anointing and the pricking were but parallel ways of removing souls. Either of these suppositions is contradicted by the orthodox Catholic view which sees the origin of Extreme Unction in the command of St. James.[18] They are upheld, however, by the more generally accepted opinion that the sacrament of Extreme Unction was borrowed from the Gnostics.[19] For, though I have been unable to find any Gnostic writing which states exactly this belief, we have traced it to Egypt, and we have seen, moreover, that the ideas about the soul at the time of its separation from the body were, in general, shared by Gnostics and orthodox Christians alike.

3. The Departure of the Good Soul

The departure of the good soul, which is described only in Batiouchkof's homily, is very similar to the death-bed scenes in the lives of the Egyptian saints.[20] The blessed

[18] *James*, v, 14-15.

[19] Renan, *L'Église Chrétienne*, p. 154; cf. St. Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, Liber I, c. XXI. *P. G.* 7, 663-7. With regard to the origin of Extreme Unction I can only raise questions without answering them. I may say, however, that its connection with the belief in oiling the good soul to effect its removal, is not at variance with the view that the anointing of the sick for their healing also entered into the sacrament, or for that matter, was the real origin of it. May not rather the addition of the other motive account for the limitation of the sacrament to the hour of death? The motive of the oiling for the removal of the soul did not enter into the sacrament in the Eastern Church, probably because its adherents being familiar with both practices were able to keep them separate. In the Roman Church, however, where the idea of oiling the soul to remove it from its body was an importation, it was easily confused with the anointing for healing. See below, p. 110, n. 42.

[20] See above, pp. 44 ff.

pauper,[21] lying on his bed, hears the voices of angels who come and stand round him. Then, as in the case of the unrighteous man, the soul comes to the mouth and addresses its body.[22] When this speech is finished,—" Tunc exiens anima et occurrens angelus Michael tangebat eam, quia nemini fecerat lesionem. Tunc levaverunt eam super alas suas splendidissimas et decantabant canticum spiritalem duo miti ore[23] simul." The coming of the angels and Michael is so much of a common-place in the accounts of the deaths of the good that it calls for no special comment.

The two angels who sang probably preceded those carrying the soul. Thus in the *Life of Pachomius,* where three angels come for the soul, two of them carry it while the third goes before singing in a heavenly voice. Likewise in the *Falling Asleep of Mary* while Peter and John carry the Virgin's body to the tomb, the rest of the apostles lead the way singing.[24] This distinction between the angels who sing and those who carry the soul, or body, is not specified in any other versions that I know. The singing of the angels, however, was a regular accompaniment of the good soul's journey to heaven.

The carrying of the soul on the wings of the angels is also paralleled in the Coptic texts. In the *Falling Asleep of Mary* Jesus took the soul of Mary and "gave it to

[21] M. Batiouchkof (pp. 52-3) thinks that in the contrast between the evil rich man and the good pauper there may be seen an influence of the Lazarus story. It may well be so.

[22] " Illic anima domini venit ad ostium corporis sui." Batiouchkof (p. 6) translates: " Elle sort par la bouche, puis se tourne vers le corps." The mistake is rather grave, because it identifies the homily with another, separate tradition. See below, p. 112.

[23] MS.: . . . re. Batiouchkof guesses, I think rightly, *ore.*

[24] See above, p. 80. Cf. also *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, pp. 61, 79, 112-3, and Appendix C., pp. 164 ff.

Michael the holy archangel, who bare it on his wings of light." [25] M. Amélineau has pointed out to me in this feature a possible point of contact with the beliefs of Ancient Egypt. The abode of the blessed lay across a great lake which the soul crossed on the wings of the ibis Thot.[26] In the Latin homily the evil soul is also represented as being carried on the wings of the demons, probably from analogy with the good soul.

In the story of the departure of the good soul, however, the Egyptian influences are dying out. Thus, the soul is no longer represented as loath to quit the body. Instead, it is said to have waited anxiously for death, to have longed for the time when it should be free from the flesh—the spirit which is so prominent in the tales of the martyrs. The account is somewhat confused, too, for though it is Michael who takes (*tangebat*) the soul, the angels bear it away on their wings.[27]

4. The Tour of the Universe

While the good, or evil, soul is being borne to heaven or to hell on the wings of light or of darkness, it sees a brightness coming from afar. Each asks what this brightness is, and is told that it is the light of that fair country whence it set out when a child. The evil soul can-

[25] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 60.

[26] The references to the soul's being carried on the wings of Thot occur most frequently in the Pyramid Texts. Cf. Maspero's translations in the *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes:* Ounas, vol. IV, p. 58, §VIII; Teti, vol. V, p. 22, §I; I Pepi, vol. V, p. 195, §XVIII, vol. VII, p. 160, §I, and p. 171, §XVI; I Mirinri, vol. XI, p. 29, §V.

[27] M. Batiouchkof's translation (p. 6) is again misleading; "l'archange Saint Michel est venu prendre l'âme et l'emporte sur ses ailes étincelantes, et lui chante des cantiques."

not now remain there on account of its sins; the good soul has won again that fair home through its goodness and long-suffering.[28] Here we have clearly a remnant of the belief in the soul's tour of the universe. The reason for the tour, too, is the same as in the more definite expressions of the belief. The evil soul is to be made to realize its wickedness, and the good soul its righteousness.[29]

On the other hand, this passage shows clear signs of moving away from the earlier beliefs. The souls do not pass through earth or hell on their way to heaven, nor is there any judgment when the tour is ended. More important is the inference that this tour was no longer felt as a natural or usual event in the journey toward heaven, since the author takes pains to introduce it by the device of the soul's seeing the light, and asking what it is.

[28] Dumque esset in itinere anima illa, vidit magnam claritatem et dicit: "Ubi est ista claritas?" Responderunt demones: "Nonne cognoscis patriam tuam unde existi quando fuisti in peregrinatione? . . . Modo transis per priuitam patriam tuam et non ibi requiescis nec ullam istorum bonorum presentium leticiam consequeris. Modo audis choros angelorum, modo audis claritatem sanctorum et non ibi habitas, sicut et nos non facimus qui de paradiso eiecti sumus in perdictione[m], et tu eris nobiscum in sempiternum." . .

Que cum sic ab angelis deportaretur vidit a longe magnam claritatem et dixit: "Que est ista claritas?" Tunc responderunt angeli: "Cognosce dulcissimam patriam tuam, unde sine macula existi et verum sine macula ad illam reverteris. Modo audis canticum angelorum, modo vides gloriam sanctorum, modo sentis meritum tuorum suavitatem."

[29] In two points the Spurious Homily of Macarius is more closely related to Batiouchkof's homily than are the other statements of the soul's tour of the world. The pagan soul sees the light coming from afar, but does not, as in our homily, pass through heaven. And the evil Christian soul laments at the sight of the joys of Paradise. M. Batiouchkof (p. 17) who counted the Sp. Homily of Macarius one of the sources of the Latin homily, noted these resemblances. I do not, however, think them sufficiently important to indicate dependence.

5. The Mouth of Hell

After the sight of Paradise the good soul is led into a place of rest: but hell-mouth yawns wide for the evil soul.

Erat ibi diabolus preparatus in similitudine draconis. Aperiens autem fauces suas strictissimas et degluciens, eam evomuit in calidissimum ignem ubi cum sibi consimilibus venturum exspectaret judicium.

The picture of the mouth of the dragon which forms the entrance to hell is, of course, very common in the Middle Ages. But it may be pointed out that a very similar conception is found in Christian Egypt.

In the *Pistis Sophia* Jesus tells Mary the outer darkness is a huge dragon whose tail is in its mouth. It lies outside the world and surrounds it completely. It is composed of twelve compartments, each having a door at the top. Only the souls of the very sinful enter by these doors, however; others enter by a hole in the tail, and when they are all in, the dragon puts its tail back in its mouth and shuts them in.[30] This is undoubtedly a survival of an Ancient Egyptian belief,[31] and it seems very probable that it has something to do with the mediæval pictures of the mouth of hell. The greatest dif-

[30] Pp. 319-323. Tr. Amélineau, pp. 166-7. One may find here an analogue for the unsavory description in the Prologue to the *Summoner's Tale* in the *Canterbury Tales*.

[31] Cf. Schmidt, *Gnos. Schriften*, pp. 414-5. The figure of the dragon who chews his tail is identified with Mercury in the *Theatrum Chemicum*, III, 29, 36, etc. Cf. Skeat's note, *Oxford Chaucer*, v. 433, l. 1438.

ference lies in the fact that in the mediæval representations the souls enter through the mouth of the animal. Yet Egypt furnishes a parallel for this also in the wide-throated monster which stands by the scales when the soul is being judged, ready to devour it if the pans are not even.[32]

A further question might be raised whether in the Latin homily the jaws of the dragon represent the actual entrance to hell, or whether the dragon, standing at the entrance to hell, receives the souls and then spews them into hell itself. This conception, however, is not so widespread as the other and seems to be only a variation of it, having more to do with the Egyptian "eater of souls" than with the hell in the shape of a dragon.[33]

In conclusion, it should be noted that the Latin ver-

[32] In the Greek *Apocalypse of Baruch* (Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pscudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, II, 446 ff.) there is a dragon which is hell, or which surrounds hell: the text is obscure. In Brandes' Third and Fourth Redactions of the *Viso Pauli* there are dragons which consume certain classes of evil-doers (pp. 45, 65). The figure of "earth opening her mouth" as the entrance to the other world is found in *Numbers*, XVI, 30, and *Deut.*, XI, 6. *Isaiah*, V, 14 says "hell hath opened her mouth." These verses may indicate some original primitive conception of hell as a dragon or some other animal, among the Hebrews. Becker (*Med. Visions*, p. 16) counts the wide throated monster and the scales of justice as two of the features of the Egyptian underworld which can be traced in the mediaeval visions. He is of the opinion, however, that they came through the Greek.

[33] The nearest parallel to this conception which I have found occurs in the 12th century *Vision of Alberic:* Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, pp. 119-120. Compare the homily on *Soul's Ward*, in *Old English Homilies*, First Ser. (*EETS.*, 34), p. 251. In the *Inferno* (Canto XXXIV, 28-25) the devil is seen crunching sinners with his teeth. Compare also the *Fis Adamnáin* ch. 20, Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, pp. 38, 195-6 and note.

sions in identifying the dragon with the devil [34] betray a tendency to homiletical amplification which is not found in the Old English Sermons.

6. The Speech of the Soul to its Body

The speech of the soul to its body has been postponed to the end because, though an outgrowth of the Egyptian traditions, it does not mirror them directly. Again, the speech, as a type, can be best understood when the Egyptian character of its setting is clear. In considering the speech I first quote the texts which illustrate the primitive types, in the order of their apparent development, and afterwards draw such deductions as seem possible.

I. Two speeches in the *Necrosima,* or Funeral Songs, of Ephraem Syrus. Both were pointed out by Batiouchkof.[35] The first is very brief and contains a reply of the body:

> Vale, fidissime comes, dicet, nos separat mors, tu hic manebis, ego discedam: cui corpus: omnia tibi, mihi carissime, precor bona, incolumitatem, salutem, reditum; qui autem nos ambos condidit, cavebit nobis utique, ne in tartarum devolvamur.[36]

The second is part of a longer speech of the soul:

> Vale igitur corpus, tectum ad paucos dies mihi concessum, spero me tibi in communi mortuorum restitutione deterso moerore reddendam.. . . Quam amarus est iste calix, Anima dicet, quem mihi miscuit inimica Mors, quamque horribile est momentum, et funesta hora, quae me modo ad judicium accersit. Vale corpus carum mihi domicilium, quod habere licuit, quandiu id Domino libuit.[37]

[34] *Rev.* XII, 9, is obviously responsible for this identification.
[35] *Romania,* 20, p. 11, n. 2.
[36] Ed. Assemani, *Syri-Lat.* III, 325, Canon LIX. Cf. Appendix B.
[37] *Syri-Lat.* III, 355, Canon LXXXI.

These two speeches are supposed to represent the feelings of the dying soul, whether good or evil.

II. *Histoire de Marc le Salutaire* (Coptic).[38] Mark, when about to die, predicts that it is the day on which he will repose in the "domicile of the pure." Then a bright light fills the grotto which exhales an agreeable incense. Mark recognizes that the arrival of Michael and Gabriel is betokened thereby. He leaves the grotto, but returns saying:

> Reste en paix, ô temple qui m'as couvert dans cette solitude; car ce corps, qui s'est caché en toi pendant sa vie, va quitter les peines du monde. Et toi, mon corps, maison de maladie et habitation de douleur, reste dans la paix du Messie pour lequel tu as enduré la faim, la soif et la nudité; il te revêtira de glorie au jour de son arrivée. Reste en paix, ô solitaire qui n'as pas eu de compagnon: repose en paix, ô domicile de mon âme. Reposez en paix, ô mes deux yeux, auxquels, j'ai fait goûter les veilles de la nuit; reposez en paix, ô mes deux mains, qui vous êtes fatiguées à cultiver la vigne du Messie. Repose en paix, ô mon corps, car tu t'es attiré bénédiction en restant debout pour la prière.

A voice from heaven is then heard demanding the "perfect Christian," but Mark turns again for a last benediction:

> Reste en paix désormais, mon frère Sérapion! reste en paix, ô mon corps, et que tous les habitants de la terre demeurent en paix. Que la paix, la charité, la tranquillité règnent dans la sainte Église de Dieu!

Mark continues instructions to Sérapion about the care of his body. Shortly after Sérapion sees the angels carry Mark's soul re-clothed in a white garment, and hears the angels drive away the "Satans" who are all ready for battle.[39] The "Satans" acknowledge themselves con-

[38] *Contes et Romans*, II, 70 f. [39] See above, p. 64.

founded. Sérapion then sees toward the right something like fire, and afterwards, nothing more.

III. The speech of the good soul in Batiouchkof's homily:

Ecce iam nos separabimur, ecce iam derelinquemus mundum! ecce iam tollet nos dominus et pater noster de magna paupertate habita! Patientes expectasti horam istam in qua luctus et fames et sitis et frigidus finirentur. Quando tu eras esuriens et siciens, ego repleta cibo et leticia; quando tu eras gracilis et pallidus, ego illaris et leta. Modo gracias ago domino meo quia per te evado tormenta sevissima. Modo tu requiesce modicum tempus in pulvere et ego in requie, donec simul in gloria resurgemus.

IV. The speech of the evil soul in Batiouchkof's homily:

Heu me, heu me, quare unquam in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum ingredi merui!—Ve tibi, misera anima, quare pecunias et alienas facultates et substantias pauperum tulisti et congregasti in domo tua! Tunc bibebas vinum et nimis decorasti carnes tuas illustrissimis vestibus et pulcherrimis.—Tu eras fecunda, o caro, et ego maculenta; tu eras virens et ego pallida; tu eras hillaris et ego tristis; tu ridebas et ego semper plorabam. Modo eris esca vermium et putredo pulveris, et requiesces modicum tempus, et me deduxisti cum fletu ad inferos.

The process of development which can be traced through these speeches is clear. First, there is a mere farewell [40] which the soul speaks to its body.[41] Under the

[40] M. Batiouchkof recognized the embryonic character of Ephraem's speeches, but did not know how to connect them with the legend of the speech of the soul to its body (p. 11, n. 2).

[41] In the *Visio Pauli* (see above, p. 27, n. 18) the farewell of the soul is hinted at in the speeches of the angels to the souls, telling them to look well at their bodies, for they must return to them at the last day. M. Batiouchkof (pp. 36-7) quotes from some Russian popular poems, in which scenes very similar to those in the *Visio Pauli* introduce actual farewells on the part of the soul: as for example in the following poem. "Sur la mer bleue, la mer de Khvolyne, couraient, naviguaient des navires; dans ces navires résidaient des

influence of ascetic ideas this simple farewell becomes an expression of gratitude to the body for having helped

anges. Quand ils abordent, à leur rencontre vient Jésus-Christ qui leur demande: 'D'où venez-vous, mes anges? qu'avez-vous vu?' Les anges répondent: 'Nous avons vu, nous avons entendu maintes choses. Nous avons assisté à la séparation d'une âme et d'un corps. Quand l'âme se fut séparée elle s'eliogna, puis revint auprès de son corps blanc pous en prendre congé: Adieu, lui dit-elle, ô mon corps blanc! adieu, toi, qui fus mon péché! Tu vas être enfoui en terre, et les vers, ô corps, vont te ronger. Les os seront ensevelis, et moi je devrai comparaître devant le Christ et faire pénitence.'"— Other Russian songs containing the soul's farewell to its body, begin with poetic comparisons, "the soul which abandons its body is like to the setting sun," then follows its speech to the body. "Another song commences with a comparison of man with a flower in its blowing; its duration is short, for death intervenes, and the soul is separated from its body as a little bird from its nest. It flies away into unknown countries and abandons all that was dear to it. It is right that it take leave of its first dwelling place, and it is then that it speaks to it." "The life of man," says yet another song, "is like a blade of grass, and its glory resembles a flower. Yesterday he was full of force and vigour; today he lies in a coffin. They wash his body with water, and the soul makes its adieux." These citations are significant: they confirm our point that the primitive type of the soul's speech was a farewell: they show also how the Egyptian ideas in the *Visio Pauli* might develop into a speech. In addition, they seem to indicate that the farewell speech became something of a commonplace, thereby increasing the possibilities that Ephraem's speeches are mere borrowings, and suggesting that we should not look for definite literary relations between the early speeches.—Mohammedan tradition also contains a suggestion of the soul's farewell. When a man is about to die, the eyes say "good-bye" to each other, and so do the ears, hands and feet. At last the soul says "good-bye" to its body and goes away. Wolff, *Muham. Eschat.* pp. 32-3.—One might note, also, a tradition of the Bretons, registered by M. Le Braz, as an equivalent of the farewell of the body which has survived almost to the present day. The soul holds converse with its instruments of labour, and its animals, asking each one "is it good? is it evil that I have done with you?" (*La Légende de la Mort en Basse-Bretagne*, p. 135, note). This scene should be compared with the farewell of Mark, as strengthening my point about the series of farewells.

it to eternal life, as in the *Histoire de Marc.* The speech of the good soul in Batiouchkof's homily marks a slight advance: it retains the character of a farewell speech of gratitude, but there is the added thought that the aid which the body gave the soul was at the expense of the body's own desires. If the idea of this speech be extended to include the evil soul, the result is the speech of the evil soul in Batiouchkof's homily. It could not be represented as saying a friendly farewell to its body, so gratitude is converted into recrimination, and blessing into malediction.

It is clear, too, that the speech of the soul to the body is but an outgrowth of the Egyptian traditions we have been studying. They furnish the fundamental conceptions for Ephraem's *Songs,* though they are stated confusedly. In the *Histoire de Marc* I summarized the scenes immediately preceding and following the speech, in order to show how fundamentally it is a part of the Egyptian scenes of the separation of soul and body. And, though the speeches in Batiouchkof's homily represent advanced stages in the development of the speech as a type, they, too, appear only as further expansions of the Egyptian motives and conceptions.

If, however, the concept of the speech is to be considered an outgrowth of the Egyptian separation scenes, how does it happen that we find the most primitive type of the speech in the *Songs* of Ephraem Syrus? Did the speech originate in Syria, and travel thence to Egypt? The process involved in this conjecture is entirely unnatural: if the speech is a development of the Egyptian conceptions, it is much more probable to suppose that this development took place on Egyptian soil. Ephraem may very easily have borrowed the idea of speech, just as he seems to have borrowed the conceptions on which

the speech rests. But it is hardly possible that an obscure Coptic biographer borrowed a motive from Syria, in expressing native traditions or, as it seems in this case, actual beliefs. Moreover, the inclusion of the farewell to the body in a series of farewells, as in the *Histoire de Marc,* is best explained as a survival of a primitive feature.

But whatever may have been the original home of the speech, the farewell of Mark is so close to the speech of the good soul in Batiouchkof's homily as to leave no doubt that the speech in the latter came from Egypt. It shows, as I have said, but slight advance beyond Mark's speech. In each, moreover, the speech is made after the angels have come to take away the soul. In this detail Mark's speech helps to explain the speeches in Batiouchkof's homily. There, the speech has come to be so much of a literary device as to seem unnatural. One wonders why the angels, and more especially the demons, were willing to wait while the soul praised or blamed its body. In the *Histoire de Marc,* however, the series of farewells is but a natural expression of the sorrow of parting, while the angels who wait for the soul which delays are to be connected with the old idea of persuading the good soul to leave its body.

In concluding this detailed examination of Batiouchkof's homily, it must be acknowledged that, although the homily is now seen to depend in almost every detail upon Egyptian tradition, yet there is no evidence which will enable us to decide absolutely whether it was composed in Egypt or in Rome. Egyptian ideas, as has already been stated, were known also in Rome, and this homily might have been composed on either side of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the presence in Egypt of a

type of speech so nearly resembling the speech of the homily, and the exclusion of all ideas, or conceptions not Egyptian, tend to indicate that the Latin homily itself was written in Egypt.[42]

7. The Four Versions

If, now, we compare the four sermons, regarding them as variant versions of the lost Latin homily, we may draw some general conclusions from their differences. The speech of the good soul disappeared very early in the Western versions of the legend, for it is found only in the most primitive of the four homilies.

If we take Batiouchkof's homily as the norm, *Sermo* 69 will be found to differ from it very slightly. It shows a tendency to homiletical expansion, however, in the insertion of details or modifying phrases and adjectives, as for example, in the introductory sentence of the soul's speech. In Batiouchkof's homily it reads: "Heu me, heu me, quare unquam in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum ingredi merui!" In *Sermo* 69 we have three sentences: "Heu mihi! quare unquam nata fui aut creata? Vae mihi! quare unquam in hoc corpus intravi? Vae mihi, quod unquam in isto pessimo carcere carnis exstiti!" The nature of this amplification which the homily received, will become more evident if we compare the two Latin homilies with the Old English ser-

[42] The only evidence that would seem to indicate that the homily was written in Rome is the similarity between its separation scene and the Latin form of the sacrament of Extreme Unction. The question of that relationship, however, and the whole question of the origin of Extreme Unction are so confused as to leave the matter unsettled.

mons when they seem to be following the original text. Thus, in the passage stating the tour of the world, the Old English homilies repeat the Egyptian tradition without amplification, agreeing moreover with the corresponding passage about the good soul in Batiouchkof's homily. When the soul asks what is the brightness it sees, the devils answer: "Ne ongytst þû þaet hit is heofona rîces gefêa, þanon þû waere ût-gangende þâ þû on þînne lîchoman in-êodest?"[43] The two Latin homilies here interpolate several sentences describing the soul's life on earth, and its lost opportunities for renouncing the demons:

Non agnoscis patriam unde exivisti, quando in hanc peregrinationem venisti? Tu quondam renuntiasti pompis nostris, et per Baptismum ac signum crucis nos expulisti. Audisti Prophetas et Apostolos, audisti etiam sacerdotes et curatos tuos, qui non cessabant tibi viam vitae praedicare, et nomen Salvatoris tui laudare: cor autem tuum a doctrina eorum longe erat.[44]

In some cases, too, *Sermo* 69 is guilty of actual misinterpretation of the original, as in the sentence following the paragraph just quoted. *Sermo* 69 reads: "Modo transis juxta patriam illam," whereas the other versions repeat the Egyptian conception exactly, using the prepositions, *per* and *þurh*. On the whole, however, the tendency of *Sermo* 69,—and of Batiouchkof's homily, in so far as it can be safely differentiated from the Latin original,—is to confuse through expansion rather than actually to misinterpret the Egyptian conceptions it is stating.

The Old English homilies, on the other hand, though not at all expanding the original, exhibit obvious instances of mistranslation through unfamiliarity with the concep-

[43] Thorpe, p. 398.

[44] *Sermo* 69; *P. L.*, 40, 1356.

tions expressed. The pricking of the soul, thus, appears only as punishment, not as a manner of separating soul from body. And again, where the Latin versions state that the demons carry off the soul on their wings, Napier's homily omits the detail entirely, while Thorpe's homily reads senselessly: "And hî âsettan ofer hyre þâ sweartestan fyðra." [45]

Such details are, it is granted, unimportant in themselves, but they show a moving away from the Egyptian conceptions. A detailed comparison of the four sermons item by item would only lead to the same conclusion. The Egyptian traditions tend to become confused in the Western writings, both through actual misinterpretation, and through the misplacement of emphasis, and consequent expansion of the moralistic theme.

Two minor differences of the Old English sermons should now be noted. In both the soul is said to be looking at the devil when it begins its first speech, and in Thorpe's homily after the soul has uttered the first few preliminary plaints, it is said that "it then looked on its body," after which follows the speech addressed to the body. This division of the speech into the general self-commiseration, and the actual censure of the body, is preserved in all four versions. One is tempted to conjecture, therefore, that the lines dividing the two parts is an original trait preserved only in Thorpe's homily. It may have another meaning, however: in many later versions the soul is said to be out of the body when it begins to speak, as would be necessary of it were to "look on the body." The statement that the soul looks on the devils and then on the body may be an early instance of this later conception. Again, both interpretations may

[45] P. 398.

be right: Thorpe's homily may be retaining a relic of the original homily, while the turning from the devils to the body may be responsible for the fact that in the later versions the soul was pictured as out of the body and turning from the demons to the body. This implication of the original homily would, however, be inconsistent with the preceding statement, that the soul was afraid to go out of its body, and the following statement that it was removed from the body by tridents.

Finally, we should notice another instance—though unimportant—in which the Old English homilies seem to preserve the reading of the lost original. In each the soul becomes vari-coloured when its speech is done; this trait is paralleled exactly in the description of the good soul in Batiouchkof's homily, which, when it has finished speaking, flushes, though before it was the colour of ashes.

VII

THE "VISIO FULBERTI" AND THE "SAMEDI"

In the Latin *Visio Fulberti* and the Old French *Samedi* we are dealing with the two most important versions of the Body and Soul legend. The Egyptian beliefs embodied in these versions can be studied more exactly and definitely inasmuch as both of them not only belong to the same "debate" type, but seem to spring from a common source, and are, moreover, of approximately the same date. They represent, it is fairly well established, a development of the speech of the soul to its body in the Latin homily.[1] The good soul has entirely disappeared and the speech of the evil soul has been expanded into a debate between the soul and the body on the subject of their relative culpability. With these speeches we have no concern in the present chapter, because we are primarily interested in the Egyptian sources of the legend, and the speeches of the soul and body are not pertinent. In the settings of the debates, however, we shall try to trace any remnants of the Egyptian beliefs, and to show the modifications they have undergone.

For the sake of tracing the further development of the Egyptian beliefs, I shall interrupt my discussion of the *Visio Fulberti* and the *Samedi* to the extent of appending to my examination of the *Visio Fulberti* a short account of the subsequent departures from the Egyptian motives

[1] *Romania*, 20, 513 ff. See my article already referred to.

in the Middle English *Desputisoun bitwen þe Bodi and þe Soule*,[2] in which the Egyptian influences are too slight to warrant separate treatment. The *Desputisoun*, being directly dependent on the *Visio Fulberti*, offers exceptionally good opportunities for noting the successive stages of development.

1. The "Visio Fulberti"

At the very outset we notice an important change in the legend—a step away from the primitive conceptions of the separation of the soul and body. The vision is not of a man about to die, but of a corpse on a bier; the soul has already departed from the body and is seen standing near when it begins to utter its complaints and reproaches. This change is necessitated by the fact of the debate. The soul may very well curse the body when standing at the mouth about to take its leave, but in such a case we can hardly conceive of the body as answering.

In the homily, the demons were waiting at the deathbed while the soul delayed and cursed its body; in the debates, they enter only when the soul and body have finished speaking. In the Latin debate the scene is described as follows:

Ecce duo Daemones, pice nigriores,

. . . . . .

67 Ferreos in manibus stimulos gerentes,
ignemque sulphureum per os emittentes,
similes ligonibus apparebant dentes,
visi sunt ex naribus exire serpentes.
68 Erant eis oculi ut pelves ardentes;

[2] Edited by Linow, *Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, I, 1890.

aures erant patulae sanie fluentes,
et erant in frontibus cornua ferentes,
per extrema cornuum venenum fundentes,
69 Isti cum furcinulis animam carpserunt,
quam secum ad inferos gementem traxerunt;[3]

These two demons who come for the soul clearly correspond to the old cruel servants of God. The description of them is much like that of the angels without pity in the *Visio Pauli*,[4] or in the *Apocalypse of Elias*.[5] We should notice, too, that in the Vision of Pachomius and in the *Visio Pauli* there are two angels without pity who come for the evil soul.[6] In the *Vitae Patrum* story a single *tartaricus* takes the evil soul but the two angels, Michael and Gabriel, come for the good soul.[7] These demons carry in their hands the forks with which the souls were separated from their bodies—as in the homily—and with these forks they take the soul. Since, however, the soul is already out of the body, the angels can only take up the soul (from the bed ?), and carry it away on their forks, the original use of the instruments being forgotten.[8]

[3] Ed. du Méril, pp. 227-8. In referring to the *Visio* I have used Du Méril's edition, because it is more accessible than Brandes'.

[4] See above, p. 41. Compare especially the shining of the eyes, the size of the teeth, and the fire coming from the mouth.

[5] See above, p. 40. [6] See above, pp. 25, 83. [7] See above, pp. 20, 26.

[8] It is a great temptation to see in this sentence a reference to the physical separation of the soul and body, and therefore a confusion of tradition with the early part of the vision. It is not improbable since the original motive appears so plainly in the homily. The word *carpere* points the same way. Its root meaning is to "pick," or "pluck," as a flower or fruit; it is used of picking wool, and also has the meaning to "tear away": one wishes to read into this sentence here the idea that there remained a natural connection between the soul and body which had to be broken by the demons. This sense of the word can not be pressed, however, for the figurative meaning, to "seize upon," is well established.

In the lines just following those quoted the Latin debate again differs from the homily. Instead of the soul's visit to heaven, which in the Latin homily occupies the journey from earth to hell, there is the tradition of the perilous passage to the other world.[9]

Mox maligni spiritus passim accurrerunt,
qui vice tripudii dentibus striderunt,
Et ei cum talibus vocibus plauserunt.
Quidam cum corrigiis ipsam perstrinxerunt;
quidam uncis ferreis ipsam diruperunt;
quidam plumbum fervidum in ipsam fuderunt;
Quidam foetidum stercus in os projecerunt,[10]
et quidam in faciem ejus comminxerunt;
quidam suis dentibus ipsam corroserunt
et tandem a corpore pellem extraxerunt[11]

Here we have a very interesting variation of the Egyptian theme. The original character of the messengers who take the souls of the wicked, the cruel servants of God, has been lost; they are demons who take the soul and carry it to hell. Hence there is no occasion for the challenge of the soul's good deeds, or for a dispute between the demons who come to meet the soul and those who are conducting it. The scene therefore is reduced to one of torture on the way to hell. Nevertheless the distinction between those who carry the soul, and those who come to meet it, is retained just as in the similar scene in the *Éloge de Pisentios*.[12] The references to the face, mouth,

[9] I did not know of this tradition at the time I wrote my article on *Sermo* 69, and therefore made the mistake of assigning this torture to the demons in hell.

[10] It may not be entirely fanciful to call to mind, in connection with this line, the fear of the Egyptians that if the *ka* were not supplied with food it would have to feed on offal. For the connection between the *ka* and the soul see below, pp. 126-7.

[11] Ed. du Méril, p. 228.

[12] See above, pp. 65-6.

eyes, etc., may be reminiscences of the pricking of the various members in the Latin homily, or they may conceivably be connected with the various stages of the way to the other world where the soul was confronted by spirits demanding whether it had sinned by the mouth, the ears, etc. The hook (*uncus*) with which the soul is tortured reminds us of the hooks on which the soul was caught in more primitive versions.[13]

The rest of the scene in the Latin poem, finds no noteworthy parallel in the Egyptian beliefs.

2. The Middle English Debate

The Middle English debate loses the interesting distinction of the *Visio Fulberti* between the two demons who come for the soul and the many who torture it on the way to hell. The soul in its last speech says that it hears the hell-hounds coming to fetch it to hell:

Hadde he no raþer þis word yseyd,
It wist neuer whider to go,
It was yhent in a brayd
Wiþ a þousand fendes and ȝete mo.
And when þai hadde on him ylayd
Her scharpe hokes al þo,
It was in sori playd,
Ytoiled boþe to and fro[14]

Then follows a description of the tortures to which they

[13] See above, pp. 25 f. The *uncus*, I have read somewhere, was one of the weapons used to torture the early Christians. One of its forms was that of a spear, or rod, with three curved hooks. This was the instrument regularly put in the hands of the devil in mediaeval manuscript illustrations. Usually he is seen pulling people into Hell-mouth with this *uncus* or is standing over a death-bed reaching out toward the dying man with it.

[14] *Auchinleck* MS.

subject it, following the outlines of the Latin poem. Two points which differ from the Latin, however, deserve attention.

64 Worþliche wede for to were
þai seyd þat he loued best;
An heui brini[15] for to bere
Al glowend on him þai kest,
Wiþ hot claspes for to spere,
þat fast sat to bac and brest,
And hiled al his oþer gere;
A stede him com al so prest.

66 In þe sadel he was yslong,
As he schuld te þe turnament;
A þousand fendes on him dong,
And al to peces him torent;
. . . . . .

67 And when he hadde riden þat foule rode
In þe sadel þer he was sett,
þai slong him doun als a tode,
and helle houndes to him lett,
and breyd of him þe peces brode,
Wel dolefulliche he was ygret;
þere þe foule fendes glode,
of blod men miȝt folwe þe tred.

They bid him hunt and blow; "he schuld sone blowe the priis." Then a hundred fiends in a row drive him to hell.

These two traits, the coat which the devils put on the soul, and the horse on which he rides a part of the way to hell, may be original with the author of this poem: that is to say, they may have suggested themselves to him as ways in which to make sport of the soul by parodying its lot on earth. Or we may suppose that the suggestion for them came from some other ideas about the soul, with

[15] *Laud* MS., *A develes cope.*

which he was familiar. In any case, his treatment of the motives is original so far as I know. For the motives themselves, however, he may have received suggestions. The question of the soul's coat I shall discuss later in connection with the Irish homily. With regard to the second motive, we should notice that in the vision of Pachomius, and in the Pisentios story, the evil soul is taken to hell by a black horse; in the former it is tied behind the horse,[16] and in the latter under it.[17] In the Arabic *Vie de Pakhome* spiritual horses or barks are said to come for the good soul.[18] And in the *Pistis Sophia* the worst sinners are said to be carried over the earth for three days by demons which have the faces of horses.[19] It is impossible to account for this resemblance—if it be a real borrowing, and not a mere coincidence—except by supposing that some idea of the soul's being taken to the other-world on a horse was well known among the Copts, and entered into Roman conceptions along with the other beliefs as to the soul and body. I do not know, however, of any earlier Roman versions in which this motive occurs.[20] It may, again, be suggested in the black horse the demons sometimes ride when they come to take soul,[21] or in the black horse Death rides.[22]

[16] P. 127.

[17] See above, p. 65.

[18] P. 464.

[19] See above, p. 37.

[20] In Etruscan tombs picturing the journey to the other world, the soul is frequently represented as a man or boy on horseback. In no case, however, is it the distinctly evil soul that is thus shown, instead the horse is supposed to denote rank: Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 3rd ed. I, 36, 324, 344, 413; II, 181, 455. A description of a black horse and its rider—similar to that in the Middle English debate, but without specific connection with the way to the other world, is found in the *Vision of Thurchill*, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora, Rolls Series*, II, 502.

[21] See above, p. 27.

[22] Compare the illumination in a prayer-book, MS. Egerton 2019, fol. 142, (second half XV c.), reproduced in facsimile in *The Prymer*

3. The "Samedi"

In the Old French debate, as in the *Visio Fulberti,* the chief interest, from the standpoint of the Egyptian origin, is concentrated in the devil scene. Here, however, the scene is confused.

Cele ame s'escrioit,
Forment se desmentoit.
"Aha, ce estes uous,
Deables mieruillous
Et mout fiers et hisdeus,
Rauissables com leus!"
L'ame mout s'escrioit;
Diables li disoit:
"Ame, uien a nous cha!
Mal garans te sera
Icil tiens cors pullens,
A cui tiens parlemens.
Or se repentiroient,
Se faire le pooient.
Tart est lor repentance,
Trop poisent en balance.
Pour ce sont il dampne
Et en infier liure.
Issies, diable, fors
Et si prennes le cors!"
L'ame estoit entre II.
Come aigniaus entre leus,
Noire et descoulouree[23]
Et forment triboulee.
Li felon l'em portoient,
De rien ne l'espargnoient,
Depiechent li le dos
Et le uentre a lor cros.
Ele crioit forment
Et angousseusement.[24]

or Lay Folks' Prayer Book, ed. H. Littlehales, *EETS.*, 105, facing p. 1.

[23] In the Pachomius vision the evil soul is said to be "dark and quite black." See above, p. 25.

[24] *B*-text.

Are we to understand a distinction between the hideous devils who take the soul, and the two who torture it as they carry it to hell? The scene then would correspond to the scene in the Latin homily, and we should have to suppose a rather clear distinction between the two traditions in the source of the Latin and Old French debates. In the *P*-text of the *Samedi*, a single devil comes for the soul. After seizing it he makes a speech for the most part merely rehearsing the soul's sins, and omitting the command to take the soul. At the end of the speech, it is stated, just as in the text quoted, that the soul was between two demons like a lamb among wolves. Does this difference between the single demon and the two demons confirm the possibility of the distinction between those who take the soul and those who torture it on the way to hell? Or should we think of the two demons as identical with those mentioned before, and as parallel to the two demons in the Latin debate? It seems to me probable that in the source of the two debates the scene with the demons was described essentially as in the Latin version: two demons come for the soul and carry it off to hell, on the way other demons come to meet them, and accompany them to hell, reviling and torturing the soul. Probably, since the source of the Latin debate would be more primitive, the distinction between the two classes of demons was more clearly drawn. Then, we must grant that the author of the Old French debate was unfamiliar with the distinction, and for that reason failed to make it clear. Otherwise, an originally clear reading has become confused in the manuscripts.

In one other point we may define the source of the two debates. In the Old French version the demons prick the back and stomach of the soul while on the way to hell; we may suppose therefore that already in the source of the

Latin and Old French debates the pricking of the body to remove the soul, had become a part of the soul's punishment on the way to hell. To this change in the legend, then, is due the mention of the members in the Latin enumeration of tortures.

4. The Relation of the Debates to the Homily

Thus, our discussion of the *Visio Fulberti* and the *Samedi* enables us to define more clearly the debate source of the two poems, and through it we approach more nearly the primitive Egyptian conceptions of the separation of soul and body. Do we at the same time get nearer to the Latin homily which has been proposed as the source of the first debate? As to the relations of the speeches in the debates to *Sermo* 69—the homiletical version closest to the debates—I have nothing to add to my former statements.[25] In the settings, however, we now find the debates differing from the homily in several important particulars. The debates follow the belief in the dangerous route to the other-world, while the homilies state the belief in the tour of the universe. Again, the debates clearly echo the Egyptian tradition of the two angels who take the soul, though the homilies merely say that there were a number of demons. The fact that these angels are described in the Latin debate when no description of them occurs in the homilies, is of less importance. For, though this description is very like the Egyptian descriptions of the cruel angels, it was after all a conventional way of picturing demons. The change in postponing the entrance of the demons after the debate is also unimportant; it seems to be a result of the debate form. The

[25] *Journ. Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, 8, 225 ff.

demons could hardly be expected to wait at the bedside while soul and body dispute at such length.

The only points which offer serious difficulty, therefore, are the references to the two demons, and to the belief in the dangerous path to the other-world. As usual a number of possibilities suggest themselves. (1) We may suppose that both details were sufficiently well known in the Middle Ages for the author of the prototype of the *Samedi* and the *Visio Fulberti* to insert them though they were not in his homiletical source. (2) The reference to the dangerous way to heaven may have been introduced without source suggestion, but the number of two demons may have been retained in the original homily and in the exact form of the homily which served as the source. The first part of this hypothesis gains probability from the fact that verses 74-5 of the *Visio* may be interpreted as reminiscences of the tour of the world as it appears in the homilies. The second part, also, seems probable because of the reference to the two angels who sang in the description of the good soul in Batiouchkof's homily. (3). The Latin homily may not have been the source of the debate at all. In this case we should have to suppose a source for the debate form which did contain a direct reference to the two demons, and the belief in the dangerous path to the other world.

These three hypotheses are by no means exhaustive, though they seem to me to include those which are the most probable. Of them the second has the greatest appearance of likelihood. For it is improbable that two such important primitive traits were restored by the author of the debate form, yet we cannot disregard a source which in so many other ways agrees with the debates. Moreover, the dangerous path to the other-world was a common mediæval motive, as the references in my appendices will

show. In conclusion, however, whether the Latin homily was or was not the actual source of the debate form, it shows an intermediate stage in the process of development from the Egyptian separation scenes to the debate between soul and body; and as such, it is of the greatest value.

5. The Description of the Soul

The Old French debate is unique in that the figure and appearance of the soul are described:

. . . tote nue
S'en estoit l'arme issue
En guise d'un enfant
Et faisoit duel molt grant.
De petite figure
Est cele creature
Et estoit la chaitiue
Si verde comme chiue.[26]

This trait, as Batiouchkof has already remarked,[27] must be set down as one of the popular elements in the Old French debate. But by this we must understand merely the description of it, for the conception itself is at the root of all the versions of the Body and Soul legend. The soul had the form, if not of an infant, at least of a human being; we have already spoken of the soul's being tortured

[26] *P*-text. The soul is probably represented as green because it had been avaricious. Cf. the description of Avarice in the *Roman de la Rose.*

"Cele ymage, et megre et chetive,
Et aussi vert cum une cive."

Skeat's *Chaucer,* I, 102.

[27] P. 517-8.

in eyes, mouth and back on the way to hell; and how else could it wear a robe, or ride a horse, as in the Middle English debate? This conception was very popular during the Middle Ages; the soul is pictured very frequently in manuscript illuminations, and almost without exception, I think, it is represented under human form. Often it is, as here, of the stature of an infant, often it is a half-grown child, and again it is the size of the body. In the only drawing I have seen in which the soul is represented as addressing its body, it is pictured as the exact counterpart of the body. This idea of the human figure of the soul was familiar to most of the ancient peoples, and since we have found the beliefs significant for our legend among the Egyptians, we ask at once whether this conception likewise held among them. We learn then that it was a well-known conception of the ancient Egyptians from the earliest times. They called it the *ka*. "Every mortal received this *ka* at birth, ... and as long as he possessed it, as long as he is *lord of a ka,* and *goes with his ka,* so long is he one of the living. The *ka* is seen by no one, but it was assumed that in appearance it was exactly the counterpart of the man. . . . When the man died, his *ka* left him." [28] In the pictures showing the other-world, too, the dead man is always represented in human form, the size of the living body. The *ka* is, strictly speaking, the double of the man, and quite separate from the *bai* or soul. The differences in their functions, however, cannot be very accurately determined, and both correspond to different senses of the English word "soul." M. Maspero, indeed, identifies both with the soul.[29] If the beliefs as to the lot of the soul entered the world of

[28] Erman, *Egyptian Religion,* p. 86.
[29] *Dawn of Civilization,* p. 108.

the Roman church from the Egyptians, who in turn got suggestions for them from the religion of Ancient Egypt, may not the same be true of this conception of the soul?

NOTE. The comparison of the body to a boat which the soul cannot govern is found in the *Samedi* (803 ff.) and in none of the other versions of the legend. It is worth noting that the same comparison occurs in a Coptic text, an encomium of St. Michael the Archangel by Theodosius, Archbishop of Alexandria. The encomium is of the early seventh century. (Cf. Budge, *St. Michael the Archangel*, pp. 2-3.)

VIII

THE IRISH HOMILY

The Irish homily *On the Soul's Exit from the Body*[1] has for many years been recognized as a member of the Body and Soul family. It is contained in the *Leabhar Breac,* a fourteenth century compilation of various religious works, many of them being very old. This homily, has not, I think, been dated. It is, however, only an expansion of an earlier Latin homily, phrases and sentences of which are scattered through the Irish text. These fragments, fortunately, are sufficient both in number and length, to give a fairly accurate idea of the Latin prototype,[2] and these I shall refer to as the Latin original of the Irish homily.

The homily consists of two parts, the first, which is very long, describes the exit of the evil soul, the second tells briefly of the good soul's departure. In discussing the first part, I divide it for convenience into a number of short scenes, as I did in the case of the Latin homily. The second part, describing the good soul's exit, is paral-

[1] *The Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac,* Text, translation and glossary by R. Atkinson, *Royal Irish Academy,* Dublin, 1887. Homily 36, pp. 507 ff. In connection with this homily I have used a Russian article of Batiouchkof's, *The Traditions of the Dispute of Soul and Body* in the *Journal of the Bureau of Public Instruction,* November, 1890. Unless, however, the Russian article is mentioned, references are to the article in *Romania* 20.

[2] Mr. Atkinson omitted the Latin citations from his edition and translation, but they were collected and printed by M. Gaidoz, *Revue Celtique,* x (1889), 463-470.

leled only in the first scene relating to the evil soul. It will be simpler, therefore, to include it in the discussion of that scene.

1. The Angels and the Demons at the Death-beds [3]

After quotations from the *Psalms* and *Matthew* the homily begins:

> For it is a difficult climb for the soul to climb the seven heavens. This is what St. Augustine says:—There come two hosts to meet every soul on its parting from the body,[4] viz. a host, vast, intolerable, bright, with the brilliancy of the sun, with radiant light, with sweetness of music, quiring of angels, unspeakable welcome from angels of heaven, to meet the soul if it be happy and righteous;—but if it be sinful and ill-fated, there cometh a host, great, black, dark, many-stenched . . . of demons to meet the soul of every sinner.[5]

These hosts come with weapons in their hands to smite and torture the soul. They taunt it while it is yet in the body, using the favourite *ubi sunt* motive: "Why art thou exhibiting no pride now? for never till today didst thou abstain from showing it. . . . What means thy present silence? . . . Why art thou now without desire for the food, to which once thou didst show so much love?" etc.[6] Then the demons begin a diabolical song

[3] With this part of the Irish homily compare the Latin sermon printed in Appendix C.

[4] The Latin skeleton reads merely: "unicuique anime duo exercitus occurrunt antequam migrat a corpore alter angelorum alter demonum." Compare above, pp. 60 ff.

[5] P. 507.

[6] P. 508. The Latin prototype of this speech may be regarded as almost if not quite complete. In the Irish text this speech is broken into three parts by the insertion of explanatory phrases, and it is apparently that to which Batiouchkof refers in the Russian article

which brings no pleasure to the sinner, for they command the demons to arise, take up their weapons and torture the soul, and afterwards to lead it to hell. "After this the demons seize those varied weapons to torture the unhappy soul." [7]

A different motive is introduced at this point and we turn to the description of the angels who visit the good soul since this passage parallels the account about the evil soul. The bright hosts of angels meet the soul of the righteous, address it with many epithets of honor and praise, and command that a sweet strain be sung. Then they assure the soul that the demons dare not come nigh it, and the homily ends with an exhortation to the soul, "Come now forward a little into the hands of angels and archangels," that they may go together into the " everlasting kingdom that is with the Lord." [8]

In these two scenes we have only the conventional exits of the good and evil souls, the good soul being taken gently and enticingly by the angels, the evil soul, cruelly by the demons. The singing of the angels at the death of the good soul is, of course, usual; and the singing of the demons seems but an expansion of the idea. The taunting of the evil soul by the demons we have not met with before, and, since this motive was so popular in the Middle Ages, we may count it but one of the mediæval expansions of the theme. The mediæval homilist has also been busy with the list of weapons which the demons carry to torture the soul. But, if the "heavy iron sledge-hammers," "mighty red-hot battle-stones," "strong fiery

as parallel to the soul's being turned back three times in the *Visio Pauli*. The identification of the later speech of the devils with this very speech of the *Visio* removes any doubt as to the influence of the *Visio* here. See below, n. 23 and pp. 135 ff.

[7] P. 509. [8] P. 514.

swords," and "heavy sharp-edged axes" do not sound familiar, one does not fail to recognize the weapons used for removing the soul in the "red fiery spits," "red very rough spears," and " old-rough flails." [9]

2. The Soul's Exit

After the order of the demons to take the soul and lead it to Hades, when the demons have seized their weapons to torture the unhappy soul we expect one of the scenes of the painful separation of the soul from the body by the demons. Instead, the homily turns aside into a description of the soul's attempted exit by the various members. It "goes to the mouth to see if it can get away through it; but death says to the soul, 'come not this way, for I am here.'" In the same way its passage is barred at the nose, eyes, and ears, and at last it forces its way through the crown of the head.[10] This account is obviously a variation of the motive of the " refusal to die," in which the soul refuses to come forth by the various members of the body, because of the good deeds they have done.[11] The Irish text, however, has become confused. The angel of death who should take the soul, is confused with physical death which by shutting the eyes and stop-

[9] P. 507.

[10] P. 509. M. Batiouchkof (Russian article, p. 112, n. 3) compares this exit with some Russian legends in which the soul makes a painful exit through the sides. In the *Apocalypse of Esdras* the angel offers to take the soul through the crown of the head, but it is not said to be painful. See below, p. 153. The fundamental confusion of this scene is very clear: the *living-principle* of the body is represented as having to make a violent exit lest it should be shut in the body after its death!

[11] Cf. Appendix A.

ping the ears, closes the natural means of exit for the soul. This likewise leads to awkwardness in the treatment of the soul; for, since there is no one now to try to take the soul by the different members, the soul itself is represented as trying to get out.

3. The Robe of Sin

When the soul has made its exit, it alights on the head of its body and expresses its amazement at the garment it finds around itself: this is not the bright robe it had formerly. The demons answer that they have given it that garment, the garment of sin which Adam, Judas Iscariot, and Caiaphas, the High Priest, had worn: in fact almost all the men of the world had worn that garment.[12] Batiouchkof refers this motive to a Talmudic parable, explaining the verse, "and the spirit returns to God Who made it." [13] They return in their purity, like to royal garments which a king distributed among his servants. When he commanded them again, some of the servants had kept their robes in chests and so returned them new and shining, others had worn their garments

[12] The Latin prototype is as follows:

"Quid est istud pallium quod tenui circa me? non meum est hoc uestimentum neque de uestimentis meis in canditate prius apparui. Quis comotavit uestem meam.

Demones dicunt contra animam et accusant eam ualde. O ainima infeilix, respice nos.

A nobis tibi est uestimentum.

Quia Adam circa se prius tenuit et Cain circa se tenuit et Iudas Scairiot circa se tenuit et Coephas princeps sacerdotum circa se tenuit uestimentum illud.

Quid plura dicamus? Non tu sola hoc uestimentum accepisti sed peine acceperunt homines totius mundi." (P. 468.)

[13] *Romania*, 20, 49. The legend may be found in *Jüd. Litt.* I, 244-5.

at their work, and they were dirty and worn. A rather closer parallel occurs in the third chapter of the *Apocalypse:* "Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment." [14]

A third possible parallel is found in the Syriac *Hymn of the Soul,* a Gnostic poem found in a tenth century manuscript, though the poem seems much older.[15] The soul leaves its shining robe or body in heaven to come to earth; when its work on earth is done it returns to the glorious robe of heaven.

None of these analogues is satisfactory. The verse in the Apocalypse is most nearly so because it offers the closest parallel and because the Bible was certainly known to the mediæval homilists, while their knowledge of the Talmudic and Syriac accounts is matter of conjecture. But the essential point of the Irish text remains unexplained, that is, the identification of the robe with the robe of sin which was worn by Judas and the others.

I can suggest but one other source for the motive. The notion of the soul's being received in a cloth is found in many Coptic stories of the deaths of the good. Jesus wrapped the soul of Mary in "garments of fine linen." [16]

[14] Vv. 4-5. References to the white garments of the saints are not uncommon in Biblical literature. Cf. *Apocalypse,* IV, 4; VI, 11; VII, 9; IV *Ezra* II, 39, 45. The *Ascension of Isaiah* says: "But the saints will come with the Lord with their garments which are now stored up on high in the seventh heaven." Ed. Charles, ch. IV, v. 16.

[15] Tr. by A. A. Bevan, *Texts and Studies,* V, 3, and by F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity,* pp. 218 ff., and by Wright, *Apoc. Acts of the Apostles,* pp. 238 ff.

[16] *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.* p. 60. These cloths and garments recall at

The angels put the soul of Joseph in "silken napkins of fine texture." [17] According to another version, "Michael took hold of the two corners of a napkin, silken and precious; and Gabriel took hold of the other two corners. They saluted the soul of My beloved father Joseph, and put it down into the napkin." [18] Michael and a host of angels wrapped the soul of Abraham in a heaven-spun cloth.[19] The just soul, in the vision of Pachomius was received in a cloth, and carried to heaven by two angels as in one of the accounts of the *Death of Joseph*.[20]

This conception was very popular in the Middle Ages. I have not noticed any literary example of it, but in almost all the illustrations of the soul as it is taken to heaven by the angels, the soul is shown in a cloth. Sometimes a single angel holds the cloth, sometimes, as in the *Death of Joseph*, it is held by two angels, each one holding two corners. Sometimes the soul is shown wrapped in bands, or clothed in garments. Here facts end, and we enter upon supposition. I know of no instance in which the evil soul is represented as being received, or carried, in a cloth. Since, however, the travesty of holy things is always a chief source of inspiration for devil scenes, we can easily imagine that the devils received the sinners' soul in black, dirty, and possibly fiery cloths, even as the soul of the just was received by the angels in a white, shining cloth. Finally, through explan-

once the mummy cloths of the ancient Egyptians. In another version of the *Falling Asleep of Mary* the wrapping of her body is described much as the wrapping of the soul, and yet it is plainly reminiscent of the mummification. "He took hold of the two borders of the garments, as she lay upon them, and wrapped them upon her with His own hands; and he fastened them to her body, so that they were fastened with unguent" (p. 79).

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 141. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[19] *Test. Abr.* §20. [20] P. 123.

atory additions for which doubtless the authors of the versions in question were responsible, this cloth was identified in the Middle English debate with the coat which the devils threw around the soul,[21] and in the Irish homily with the garment of sin worn by Adam and Cain. So far as the Middle-English poem is concerned, this theory leaves nothing to be explained, but in the case of the Irish homily it does not succeed so completely, for it will not account for the reference to the bright robe which the soul once had. However, if in addition to the popular influence here suggested, we concede the possibility of influence from some one of the literary versions before mentioned, all the essential elements will be accounted for.

4. Dependence on the "Visio Pauli"

The description of the robe of sin being ended, the demons turn again to the soul:

> Then they say to it:—"O wretched soul! cast a glance on thy body now, and see the black, dark, gloomy habitation in which thou didst dwell in times past, the place whence thou hast come hither to meet us." Thereupon the soul doeth eager, woeful, sad repentance, with loud outcry and penitent utterance that availeth it not: the name of that repentance in Holy Scripture is *sera penitentia*, which serveth no man. And the soul saith:—"Almighty God, now I do earnestly repent unto Thee of my many sins. I am sorry for them now, though they were dear to me when I committed them." At this expression of repentance the demons let the soul go heavenwards, for the purpose of mocking it. So it goeth thitherwards on being allowed to escape; but then the demons rush against it, vengefully and dreadfully, roughly and mercilessly with violence of language, and an eager desire to torture the soul, so as to stop it and hinder it from getting to heaven; and they say to it:—"We see plainly that thou wouldst fain now go to heaven; but we never noticed that wish in thee hitherto; neither from thy actions,

[21] See above, p. 119.

nor thy good will, nor thy humanity, nor thy humility, nor thy lowliness, nor any kind of good deed, did we perceive that thou hadst any desire of going to heaven, whilst thou wast eager for the wealth of the world. Whither goest thou, wretched? How darest thou go? What good thing hast thou [to show] in seeking heaven, as is now thy wish? Turn back now, thou miserable soul!"[22]

In the two leading sentences of this passage the Latin original of the Irish homily is dependent on the *Visio Pauli*.[23]

[22] P. 510-11.

[23] M. Batiouchkof has already noted resemblances between this homily and the *Visio Pauli*, though from a different standpoint. To quote from his Russian article (p. 113): "Let us recall the primitive redaction of the *Visio Pauli*, and especially the episode of the death of the sinner, which was modified, re-cast, and shortened in the new European and Latin arrangements: its fundamental traits have been preserved in the Irish arrangement, but we may believe that the author did not know their real signification, or else explained them very individually, for they are arbitrarily interpreted. Thus in the *Visio* the angel, three times, orders the soul to learn to know its body well, in order to be able to return to it the day of the resurrection; in the Irish version the demons, three times, lead the soul toward the body, but not for the purpose of remembering it well: the soul ought to be convinced of the feebleness and the destruction of the body after death. Further on in the *Visio Pauli*, the soul must, itself, confess its sins, and read the card on which its actions are described: here it repents anew but the demons find its repentance too late. Finally in the *Visio Pauli* a voice is heard from on high, which orders the demons to let the soul pass that it may be presented before the universal Judge: here, the demons let the soul pass, but with the sole intention of injuring it, and barring its passage seize it anew. This variation seems to us the invention of the author, or of the original Latin. In any case it is only a feeble echo of the primitive reaction of the *Visio*." In the *Romania* article (pp. 49-50), however, M. Batiouchkof says nothing about the *Visio Pauli*, and as it was written after the Russian article, it should be taken as the expression of his final opinion. "Ainsi nous avons dans l'homélie irlandaise la même scène double de la mort d'un pécheur et d'un juste, racontée de la même façon que dans la vision sur saint Macaire modifiée. Quelques altérations des données primitives semblent l'œuvre de l'auteur irlandais: ainsi la scene où les diables laissent passer l'âme seulement pour se moquer d'elle." In

The Irish Homily.

Dicunt demones: O ainima infelix, respice corpus tuum et domum unde existi.

Deinde ainima ad celum uadit. Et demones in obuium ei ueniunt et dicunt: O miseirrima ainima, o infelix, quo uadis et quomodo ausa es pergere ad celum?

Visio Pauli.

(¶. 15) Maligni . . . angeli . . . dicentes: O misera anima, prospice carnem tuam unde existi:

(¶. 15) Cum iam ingredi celum abiret . . . error et obliuio et susuraccio obuiaverunt eam, et spiritus fornicacionis et relique potestates, et dicebant ei: Vbi perges, misera anima, et audes praecurrere in celo?[24]

That these passages are real borrowings from the *Visio Pauli,* I do not doubt. In the two texts, the demons and the evil spirits play exactly the same rôle: they have surrounded the death-bed for the purpose of taking the unhappy soul, and after it is out of the body, they direct it to look on its body. The *Visio Pauli* makes a distinction between the spirits of the air and the evil angels which the Irish homily does not follow. Therefore the connectives between the two passages offer few resemblances. In the *Visio Pauli* the angels conclude the first sentence by saying: "Necesse est enim te reuertere in carne tua in diem resurreccionis, ut recipias peccatis tuis condignum, et impietarum tuarum." The soul's angel then speaks disclaiming all responsibility: It would not have stayed with the soul a single day, had not the just judge commanded that it remain until the soul repent. The speech

the last point he was more nearly of accord with our conclusion in the first article. His final conclusion about the homily is almost the same as ours: "Bien que l'homélie en question nous soit parvenue dans une version du XIVe siècle, nous croyons qu'elle se rattache directement au groupe des traditions sur la séparation de l'âme et du corps antérieures à la légende du débat, la replique du corps y étant peu significative."

[24] See above, pp. 27 and 56.

being ended, the soul starts toward heaven accompanied by the angels. Its passage, however, is barred by the spirits of the air, until a voice from heaven is heard demanding that the miserable soul be brought before God. In the Irish homily the connection between the two passages is made rather more easily than in the *Visio Pauli,* where, however, we have noted confusion of tradition.[25] The confession of penitence called forth from the soul by the sight of its body leads very naturally to the attempted ascent to heaven, and the struggle with the demons. As a variation of the motive of the dangerous road to the other world the passage which follows is very interesting. Moreover, it is unique in that it is introduced only as a means of mocking the soul, as well as in the fact that the soul afterwards returns to the body.

Just how these changes from the version in the *Visio Pauli* came about, it is impossible to say. One cannot even be positive as to the place of the Irish homily's Latin prototype, so fragmentary are the passages which remain.[26] The soul's confession of penitence and its return to the body are both found there. On the other hand, the Latin fragments do not state that the demons allowed the soul to ascend toward heaven for the purpose of mocking it. Again, though the same word, *demones,* is used in each case, the Latin prototype may have kept the distinction between the demons who came for the soul, and those who hindered its ascent. The clause *demones in obuium ei ueniunt* would seem to indicate that these were not the demons who had been with the soul up to that

[25] See above, pp. 60 f.

[26] The phrases coming in between the two sentences quoted are as follows:

"Deinde ainima penetet et dicit
et dicit: ago deo penetentiam de meis pecatis plurimis."

time. If this be the case we can easily see how the scene in the *Visio Pauli* could have served as the source for this part of the Irish homily. For if the last part of the angels' speech bidding the soul to look on its body is omitted, the soul's confession of penitence is the logical outcome of the scene; then, given the distinction between the two bands of demons, we have reconstructed all the essentials of the scene in the *Visio Pauli.*[27]

5. The Speeches of Soul and Body

The soul, mocked in its attempt to go to heaven, "returns to the body, against which its anger is aroused, so that it proceeds to heap reproaches on the body." The body, in reply, heaps reproaches upon the soul, until at last the soul is carried off by the demons while the body continues to curse it, drawing pictures of the torment which the soul shall endure. These speeches are, for the greater part, made up of general reproaches. Compara-

[27] It may be urged that the *Visio Pauli* formed the ground-work for the entire Irish homily, the motives of the "refusal to die" and the "robe of sin" being interpolations. In support of this opinion, however, I can find no real evidence. In each, the hosts of good and of evil angels come from every soul, evil angels taking the evil soul, good angels, the good soul, it is true. But on the other hand this was a common motive, and none of the amplifications which are found in the *Visio Pauli* are repeated in the Irish homily, while in the demons' weapons we recognize a primitive trait in the Irish homily which is not present in the *Visio Pauli.* Again, the struggle with the spirits, which is the only part of the Irish homily we can positively connect with the *Visio Pauli*, figures in the *Visio Pauli* as prominently in the description of the good soul's exit, as in that of the evil soul's. But in the Irish homily's description of the good soul's exit, the struggle with the spirits has no place whatever unless, indeed, one were to stress the assurance, regularly made to the soul, that the demons should not hurt it.

tively few of the epithets and invectives employed belong essentially to a speech of the soul, or of the body; they might equally well be spoken by the homilist to a reprobate audience.

In order to show the structure of these speeches I quote the text, printing in italics all phrases which seem to belong essentially to a speech addressed by a soul to its body. For this purpose, however, I use the Latin prototype, which, if not complete, contains at least all the essential elements of the Irish text, and has the advantage of greater brevity.

Postea reuertitur ainima ad corpus, accusans eum, dicens
dicens: o caro dura, o tamplum diabolicum
nunc ego ad te redior ut increparem tuam increduiletatem.
O caro dura, cinis putrida, o superba in qua diabolus habitauit, o tenebrosa fouea, o uenenosa uiperia serpentium, o costodia irae et superbie.
Ue mihi, *habitacio tua mersit me in infernum.*
Et de tuis mailis crucior et de tuis peccatis toircior atque demergeor in infernum.
Maledicam tibi in secula seculorum et frequentabo multis maledictionibus.
Et corpus respoindit anime dicens:
O ainima dura et arida atque sicca sicut terra sine aqua, o miserabilis, o deterior cunctis mortalibus es.
Mansisem sicut uiniuersa terra fragilisima nisi te percepisem.
Deinde ainima uadit, et relinquit maledictionem [et maledictionem] portat et dicit corpus intra in manibus diaboli et satilitium suorum.

The reproaches are obviously mere padding to the speeches. The actual speech to the body is the censure for being the cause of the soul's perdition, a type which developed, as I have said, as a counterpart to the expressions of gratitude by the good soul. Here, however, the speech retains few of the characteristics of a "farewell." On the other hand, the simplicity of this speech bespeaks

a very early form, as does also the simple reply of the body. It is paralleled only in the first speech quoted from Ephraem Syrus, the most primitive type of the speech.

6. Conclusion

In reviewing the homily as a whole, its relation to the Egyptian beliefs may be exhibited by a tabular summary as follows:

I. Hosts of beautiful angels and of hideous demons attend the exits of the good and evil souls respectively. The demons, moreover, carry arms with which they are told to take the soul and to smite it. These scenes agree essentially with Egyptian traditions.

II. The soul's exit, a perversion of the "refusal to die."

III. The "robe of sin." Talmudic? Biblical? Syriac? Egyptian?

IV. Borrowing from the *Visio Pauli,* a variation of the struggle with spirits on the way to heaven.

V. Primitive speech of soul and reply of body.

All the scenes of the homily can thus be traced directly to the Egyptian: the "robe of sin" alone, forms a possible exception, since its origins are unsettled. How are we to account for the presence of these Egyptian elements in the Irish sermon?

In answering this question the first point to be decided is the length and the contents of the original homily. For the very loose construction of the homily in both the Latin and the Irish seems to indicate that it had undergone repeated expansion and interpolation: the motives, which are not always consistent, follow one another in a perfunctory manner. The parallel between the good and

evil souls may very easily have formed the ground-work into which the various motives about the evil soul were introduced. In fact, the passage containing the actual exit of the soul, bears all the external marks of an interpolation, for it is contradictory to the preceding paragraph in which the demons give the order to take the soul with weapons. External influence may conceivably be seen in this motive, since the statement of the "refusal to die" which comes nearest the Irish text, is found in Jewish and Mohammedan tradition. A Talmudic legend has also been suggested as the source for the following paragraph, describing the "robe of sin." Further evidence of the patched character of the homily is found in the passage dependent on the *Visio Pauli,* for in the entire homily we find no other clear traces of that vision's influence. Moreover, the following scene—the return of the soul to reproach the body, after its attempted ascent to heaven—is inconsistent with the account in the *Visio Pauli,* where the soul is carried to the judgment.

But, granting the lack of unity in the Irish homily, we have not yet disposed of the problems it presents. The dependence on the *Visio Pauli* puts no restrictions on the homily, for it was popular in all countries and in all ages. If, however, we are to grant the Irish homily Hebrew and Mohammedan influence, we practically exclude the possibility that it was a native product of the Irish Church, for the Irish Church was in its glory in the sixth and seventh centuries, whereas the Mohammedan legends did not rise until the seventh. Moreover, the influence of the Mohammedan legends was, at best, slight; and external influences on the Irish Church after the seventh century were also slight.

Besides, if the homily was thus influenced by differ-

ent sources, how can we account for the fact that these interpolations may all be traced to Egypt? The motive of the "robe of sin" may be dismissed from the present discussion; for the analogues we have found do not enable us to decide whether it is Syriac, Mohammedan, Hebrew, or Egyptian, though I incline to regard it as either of Hebrew or Egyptian origin. In the case of the "refusal to die," though the Hebrew and Mohammedan legends are nearest the Irish texts, the motive itself is Egyptian. And though the *Visio Pauli* was well-known in the Middle Ages, it, too, is but an expression of Egyptian tradition. Not only, then, is the foundation of the homily Egyptian, but the interpolations also appear to consist almost wholly of Egyptian material. Manifestly if these were late additions they would not have been confined to Egyptian themes. Nevertheless the homily as it stands seems to afford clear evidence of its interpolated character. The interpolations, therefore, must have been made from the same store of ideas as the root-homily, that is, from Egypt.

Such an explanation seems to me the only probable one. The Irish Church, through the Eastern churches of Gaul, kept up constant intercourse with Egypt and Syria. Irish Christianity was strongly monastic and anchorite in character, and both manners of life sprang up in Egypt.[28] But though the Irish Church gained its greatest Egyptian influence through the medium of the churches in Gaul, direct intercourse was not lacking. Down to the close of the eighth century Irish travellers

[28] G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, Lecture IX, *Ireland and the East;* Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, pp. 113-4. On the foundation of the church in Gaul, cf. Renan: *L'Église Chrétienne*, ch. XXIV, pp. 467 ff.

journeyed to Egypt, and probably it was through them that the literature of Egypt and Syria passed over to Ireland.[29] *The Book of Adam and Eve,* which was written in Egypt about the sixth or seventh century, is to be found in an eleventh or twelfth century collection of mediæval Irish poems, the *Saltair Na Rann.*[30] The *Leabhar Breac,* in which the Irish homily is found, is, as I have said, only a compilation, made up, for the greater part, of much older texts. This homily may very probably be one of the very old homilies of the Irish Church brought in some form directly from the East. The primitive character of the homily itself suggests that it is a direct borrowing. The wealth of homiletical phrases and epithets is obviously due to later re-working; the prominence given to the separation scenes, however, points only to the primitive versions of the legend, that is, to Egypt.

[29] Stokes, *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 214-16.

[30] *Stokes, Ibid.*, p. 216, n. 1; p. 187, n. 2. The Irish text has been edited by Mr. Whitley Stokes, *Anecdota Oxoniensia,* Mediæval Series, vol. 1, p. 3 (Clarendon Press, 1883). New indications of Eastern learning in Ireland are continually coming to light. Dr. M. R. James has recently pointed out an Irish reference to the *Transitus Mariae, Journal of Theological Studies,* January, 1910, pp. 290-1. Dr. C. F. Brown in a recent number of *Englische Studien* (XL, 1 ff.) has shown that the Irish-Latin original of a homily in the *Leabhar Breac* was directly influenced by Greek. For the knowledge of Greek in Ireland cf. Stokes, *Ibid.*, Lecture XI.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In concluding we turn from the particular inquiries as to the nature of the various versions of the Body and Soul legend, to the more general results reached by this dissertation. First, we must define the relation existing between these individual versions, in order to determine the manner in which Egyptian tradition influenced the Western legend. Afterwards we shall summarize the origin and development of the legend as a whole.

The relation of the Latin homily to the earlier Egyptian beliefs, and to the later debates we have already discussed. It shows direct dependence on the Egyptian traditions, but we cannot assert positively that it was written in Egypt. Neither can we be certain that it was a direct source of the debates, since at times they reflect Egyptian traditions which do not appear in the homily. Nevertheless this homily may still be taken as representing an intermediate stage between the Egyptian beliefs and the debates, one which illustrates the process of development in the Western forms.

How, now, does the Irish homily fit into this scheme of development? At the very outset the question is complicated by two obvious resemblances between this homily and the debates. Each contains the motive of the combat with the spirits which does not appear in the Latin homily. In the Irish homily, again, the body replies to the speech of the soul, saying that it would have remained as earth, had it not been animated by the soul [1]—a motive which

[1] See above, p. 140.

appears also in the debates.[2] These resemblances, however, do not establish any vital connection between these versions. The attempt to rise to heaven in the Irish homily is, as we have seen, a direct expansion of the scene in the *Visio Pauli,* while that apocalypse does not seem to have exerted any influence on the corresponding scene in the debates. In the Irish homily, again, the reply of the body is not at all in the manner of the debate, but rather goes back to the simplest form of the speech as exemplified in Ephraem's *Songs.* Moreover the motive in question can be traced directly to *IV Ezra.*[3] But, although any direct connection between the Irish homily and the debates may thus be explained away, the resemblances remain.

This baffling sense of intangible likenesses grows when we compare the Latin and Irish homilies. Let us see first in what their direct likenesses consist. For this purpose we may grant that the " refusal to die " and the attempted ascent to heaven, are interpolations. The " robe of sin " need not enter into the present discussion since it is not certainly Egyptian, and since, moreover, it does not appear in the other Body and Soul versions. Thus shorn, the Irish homily presents an apparently fundamental likeness to the Latin homily. Each presents the antithesis between evil hosts who come with weapons to remove the evil soul, and the bright angels who carry off the good soul with thanksgiving: and each contains a vituperative speech of the evil soul to its body.

[2] *Visio Fulberti,* ed. Du Méril, p. 226, st. 58, *Samedi, P*-text, 701 ff.

[3] Ch. VII, 63 f., ed. Bensly, p. 31. The same motive occurs in the Old English *Address,* Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie,* II, p. 98, l. 76 ff.

But how much is to be inferred from these resemblances? The antithesis between the good and evil hosts who attend dying men was, as we have seen, a commonplace. Besides, the speech of the soul in the Irish homily does not form an integral part of the whole, as in the Latin sermon. The antithesis between the two hosts in the Irish homily extends only through the earlier devil scenes, so that the very speech of the soul must be regarded as an interpolation.

Moreover, the speeches themselves present great differences. The Irish homily does not contain the speech of the good soul, which is the more primitive form, nor does it show in its speech of the evil soul many traces of the "farewell" type from which the Latin speech of the evil soul, has manifestly evolved. But it contains a reply of the body for which we find an analogue only in the most primitive form of the speech.

On the other hand, if the apparent likenesses are puzzling in their differences, the apparent differences are no less puzzling in their likenesses. The actual manner of the soul's exit in the Irish homily is, as we have seen, a variation of the "refusal to die." This motive is outwardly quite different from the removal by spears which appears in the Latin homily and in the debates. Yet, as we have seen, both can be traced to the same Egyptian separation theme. Moreover, the idea of the soul's possible exit by the different members of the body is present in the Latin homily in the pricking of those members, just as in the actual attempts at exit in the Irish homily.

In such a confusion of resemblances I confess myself incapable of tracing any satisfactory, or logically definite lines of inter-relation or dependence between these versions

of the Body and Soul legend.[4] One fact alone stands out clear and indisputable: both express the Egyptian traditions. In the final analysis, the Latin homily rests, as we have seen, on the Egyptian tradition as popular belief. This, we are forced to admit, is also the character of the Irish homily. This conclusion does not affect the development of the legend in Egypt, as we have outlined it. It has already been shown that a speech very similar to the speeches in Batiouchkof's homily existed in Egypt, so, when we refer the Irish speech also to Egypt, our former conclusions are not changed, but verified. In referring the Irish homily to Egypt, however, our conception of the Western development of the legend is very much altered. For we thus acknowledge two separate and distinct streams of influence from Egypt. The one came through Rome and is identified with the Roman Church, the other is a more or less direct borrowing of the Celtic Church from Egypt.[5] Dissimilar, therefore, as the Latin and the Irish homilies are in their present form, they are both variants of the Egyptian themes of the separation of soul and body.

Notwithstanding this divergent tendency in the Western forms of the legend, the origin and development of the legend as a whole stand out clearly. The Christian Egyptians, still more or less under the influence of their ancestral religion, held certain beliefs about the lot of the soul at the time of death. From these beliefs grew the notion of a farewell address by the soul to its body. Under the influence of ascetic ideals this farewell developed a two-fold form. The good soul praised, and the evil soul blamed its body. This stage of development was reached in Egypt.

[4] The confusion is increased if one attempts to compare other homilies stating the same themes, such as the one printed in Appendix C.

[5] See above, pp. 143-4.

After the legend left Egypt, the good soul was almost never introduced. In the speeches of the evil soul, the Egyptian traditions tended to become less prominent as they became less well-known; and foreign material was consequently introduced. In the Irish homily the Egyptian speech and separation scenes are padded with the conventional epithets and phrases of the mediæval homilist. In the debates, the separation scenes are crowded into a few paragraphs at the close, while the speech of the evil soul has been expanded into a long debate on the relative responsibility of soul and body. In the mediæval speeches of the soul to its body—if I may be allowed to anticipate a continuation of this study which I intend to complete shortly—the Egyptian separation scenes have entirely disappeared, and the speech of the soul has been seized upon as a convenient device for the promulgation of all kinds of homiletical commonplaces.

To sum up the results of this investigation: confirmation is given to M. Batiouchkof's conclusion that the foundation of the legend is not the vision, nor the speech of the soul, nor even the contrast between the soul and the body,[6] but the theme of the separation of soul and body.

[6] Linow (*Erlanger Beiträge*, I, 2.) and Steinschneider ("Rangstreit Literatur," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 155, Abhandlung IV, pp. 58-60) accept this contrast as the basis of the legend and call attention to the Talmudic parable which likens soul and body in their denial of individual culpability to a lame and blind man who were set to watch a garden. Neither being able to procure the fruit alone, the lame man was hoisted on the blind man's back, and in this way the fruit was secured for the two. When accused by the owner of the garden each pleaded innocence on account of his inability when alone. The master, therefore, punished them together. As an early example of the theme which is most prominent in the late debates, this parable is interesting and instructive—it shows the universality of the theme. It is of no importance, however, in explaining the origin, or the course of development of the

To M. Batiouchkof's conclusions we add the theory of the origin and development of the speech, and the fundamental identification of the legend with the popular beliefs of Christian Egypt.

popular legend as is, I think, obvious to any one acquainted with its early versions. Neither Dr. Linow nor Dr. Steinschneider seems to have had that acquaintance.—A fifteenth century manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 37049, f. 82-84) contains a prose dialogue between the body and soul which is merely an expansion of the story in the *Talmud*. It has no connection with the *Visio Fulberti* or with the other debates.

APPENDIX A

THE "REFUSAL TO DIE"

The motive of the soul's refusal to die, which occurs in two of the Egyptian texts quoted in the second chapter, figures very prominently in several non-Egyptian writings. Moreover it appears in forms so similar to the Egyptian texts as to preclude the possibility of separate origin. It becomes necessary, therefore, to inquire whether this motive was borrowed from Egypt, or whether the Egyptian texts borrowed it from foreign sources. So far, I know of it in the Hebrew Moses legend,[1] in the two late Greek *Apocalypses* of *Esdras*[2] and *Sedrach*,[3] and in several Mohammedan traditions.[4]

[1] *De Morte Mosis*, translated from the Hebrew into Latin by Gilbert Gaulmyn of Moulins, reprinted by Gfoerer, *Prophetae veteres Pseudepigraphi* (Stuttgart, 1840), pp. 317 ff., 336 ff. The same legend occurs about the year 900 in the *Midrasch Debarim rabba*, *Jüd. Litt.* I, 521 ff. Compare also the *Vita e Morte di Mosè*, Leggende Ebraiche tradotte, illustrate et comparate da Salvatore De-Benedetti, Pisa, 1879.

[2] *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, XVI, 468 ff. The Greek text has been edited by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, pp. 24 ff.

[3] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. IX, pp. 177 ff., Greek text edited by James, *Apoc. Anec.* I, 130-137.

[4] Dr. M. R. James collects a number of instances of the "refusal to die" in his Introduction to the *Testament of Abraham* (pp. 64-6). He notes the Moses legend, the two Greek *Apocalypses*, and the first of the passages from Mohammedan mythology. I am indebted to him for these references. Dr. James cites also a modern Greek ballad in the form of an acrostic, a dialogue between a man and Death, which contains the motive of the refusal to die (printed by Sakellarios: Κυπριακά, 2 ed. vol. II, p. 29). In this connection Dr. James

Of these the Moses legend is the most significant. When God tells Moses that the hour of his death has come, Moses pleads for longer life at great length, but in vain. God then asks in turn Michael, Gabriel, and Zinghiel to take Moses' soul, but each offers some excuse. Thereupon the commission is given to Samael who goes gladly, but returns unsuccessful after two attempts. Moses now reminds God again of all his merits and prays that, at least, he may not be given over to Samael. God, hearing the prayer, decides to come Himself.

Tres Angeli, Michael, Gabriel et Zinghiel cum Deo descenderant. Gabriel feretrum curavit, Michael purpuram expandit, Zinghiel vestem, ad cervices et ad pedes Michael ab una, Gabriel ab altera parte stabat. Tum Deus Mosem ambas pectori manus imponere, ac oculos claudere jussit, quod ibi exequutus est, ejus animam sic vocavit! . . . Tum vero Deus oris osculo animam abstulit.[5]

In the longer version of the story, Samael offers to take the soul of Moses as he has taken the souls of Adam, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. God answers:

Omnes isti similes Mosi non fuerunt, sed quomodo ejus animam auferes, an per faciem? illa mihi in os loquuta est: *Et loquutus est Deus ad Mosem a facie ad faciem,* an per manus? illae leges acceperunt, an per pedes? hi caliginem, qua obductus sum, calcarunt, et ad me usque pervenerunt: *Accessit Moses ad caliginem, in qua erat Deus.* Nihil in omnia ejus membra potes![6]

The *Revelation of Esdras* contains a passage very similar to the Moses legend:

refers to the Middle English *Debate of the Body and Soul,* saying it probably is connected with our motive. As we have seen, the Middle English *Debate* belongs to the same tradition, but it does not connect itself directly with the "refusal to die."

[5] Gfoerer, *op. cit.,* p. 333.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 359. Cf. *Jüd. Litt.* I, 521 ff.

Then there came a voice to me: Come hither and die, Esdras, my beloved; give that which hath been entrusted to thee. And the prophet said: And whence can you bring forth my soul? And the angels said: We can put it forth through the mouth. And the prophet said: Mouth to mouth have I spoken with God, and it comes not forth thence. And the angels said: Let us bring it out through thy nostrils. And the prophet said: My nostrils have smelled the sweet savour of the glory of God. And the angels said: We can bring it out through thine eyes. And the prophet said: Mine eyes have seen the back parts of God. And the angels said: We can bring it out through the crown of thy head. And the prophet said: I walked about with Moses also on the mountain, and it comes not forth thence. And the angels said: We can put it forth through the points of thy nails. And the prophet said: My feet also have walked about on the altar. And the angels went away without having done anything, saying: Lord, we cannot get his soul.

Jesus is then sent with a "great host of angels," but Esdras pleads with Him at great length. At last, however, he is persuaded to give up his soul, though the actual manner of its departure is not described.[7]

The *Apocalypse of Sedrach* offers an interesting variation of the theme:

IX. And God said to his only begotten Son: Go, take the soul of Sedrach my beloved, and place it in Paradise. The only begotten Son saith to Sedrach: Give me the trust which our Father deposited in the womb of thy mother in the holy tabernacle of thy body from a child. Sedrach saith: I will not give thee my soul. God saith to him: And wherefore was I sent to come hither, and thou pleadest against me? For I was commanded by my Father not to take thy soul with violence; but if not, (then) give me thy most greatly desired soul.

X. And Sedrach saith to God: And whence dost thou intend to take my soul, and from which limb? And God saith to him: Dost thou not know that it is placed in the midst of thy lungs and thy heart and is dispersed into all thy limbs? It is brought up through the throat and gullet and the mouth and at whatever hour it is

[7] *Ante-Nicene Christian Library,* XVI, 474-5.

predestined to come forth, it is scattered, and brought together from the points of the nails and from all the limbs, and there is a great necessity that it should be separated from the body and parted from the heart.[8]

The same motives occur in Mohammedan mythology:

In der Ueberlieferung heisst es: Wenn Gott die Seele des Menschen abberufen will, so kommt der Todesengel von der Seite des Mundes, um seine Seele dahinzunehmen. Da tritt aus seinem Munde das Lob (Gottes) hervor und spricht: von mir aus ist dir kein Weg gestattet, denn von dieser Seite wurde Gott gepriesen und nur meines Herrn Lob kam über ihn (den Mund). Und der Todesengel kehrt dann zu Gott zurück und spricht: o Herr, so und so, dies und dies (hat das "Lob" gesprochen). Da sagt Gott zu ihm: nimm (die Seele) von einer andern Seite. Er kommt nun von der Seite der Hand. Es tritt aber die Wohlthätigkeit hervor und spricht: von meiner Seite ist dir kein Weg gestattet, denn mit mir hat er viele milde Gabe gespendet, das Haupt der Waise liebevoll gestreichelt, Gegenstände der Wissenschaft geschrieben und das Schwert über den Nacken der Ungläubigen geschwungen. Dann kommt er zum Fusse und dieser spricht: es steht dir kein Weg offen von meiner Seite, denn mit mir ist er in die Gotteshäuser, zum Besuche der Kranken und zu den Sitzen der Wissenschaft gegangen. Er wendet sich nun zum Ohre und dieses spricht: von meiner Seite steht dir der Weg nicht frei, denn mit mir hat er die Laute des Korâns und der Lobpreisung Gottes gehört. Endlich geht er zum Auge, aber auch dieses spricht: es ist dir von meiner Seite kein Weg gestattet, denn mit mir hat er in die (heiligen) Schriften und das Gesicht der Gottesgelehrten geblickt. Hierauf wendet sich der Todesengel zu Gott und spricht: o Herr, dein Knecht spricht so und so. Da sagt Gott zu ihm: o Engel des Todes, schreibe eilends meinen Namen auf deine Hand und zeige ihn den Seelen der Gläubigen, so dass ihn (auch) die Seele unseres Knechtes sehe. Es schreibt nun der Todesengel den Namen Gottes auf sein Hand und zeigt ihn den Seelen der Gläubigen; sie werden mit Liebe zu ihm erfüllt, und so verlässt die Seele des gläubigen wegen des Segens seines (des göttlichen) Namens den Körper und es schwindet von ihr die Bitterkeit der Trennung.[9]

[8] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IX, 178.

[9] Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, pp. 30-31.

According to another tradition when the Death-angel visits a man the spirit refuses to go except at the command of God. The Death-angel reports to God, who tells him to show the spirit a leaf on which is His sign. The soul on seeing it, goes out with joy.[10]

The Moses legend, also, is found in Mohammedan tradition, though with slightly different detail. The angel of death tries to take Moses's soul by the different members of his body, but is prohibited each time by the good works they have done. At last, he gives Moses an apple to smell, and in the act of smelling it his soul flies out at his nostrils.[11]

This recension undoubtedly comes from the Hebrew legend; and it is more than probable that the other Mohammedan versions of the "refusal to die" also derive from Hebrew sources.[12] The Greek Apocalypses give no exact evidences of origin, besides being of late date. The question of the origin of the "refusal to die" is therefore simplified: it must be either Coptic or Hebrew. My own opinion may be inferred from the fact that I include the two Egyptian texts showing this motive among the texts which illustrate native Egyptian beliefs. I proceed now to give my reasons for that opinion.

In the first place, though the dates of none of these writings are definitely known, the Moses legend, which represents the oldest of the non-Egyptian forms, has not been traced to so early a date as the Egyptian texts. Moreover, it offers other very close parallels to the Coptic texts, indicating Egyptian influence. The three angels

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

[11] Benedetti, *Vita e Morte di Mosè*, p. 151. The soul of Mahommed escaped through the mouth. Cf. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari* traduite sur le version Persane (Paris, 1867), III, 217.

[12] Cf. *Test. Abr.*, p. 68.

around the death-bed agree exactly with the description of the good soul's exit in the Pachomius vision. Again, in one of Samael's attempts to remove the soul of Moses, he assumes a brightness not his own, thinking thereby to take the soul more easily. This trait corresponds with the *Testament of Abraham* in detail, and is but an expression of the Egyptian belief that the souls of the good were taken by beautiful angels. In several very minor details, too, the Moses legend agrees with the Coptic works, as in the series of "woes" which Moses utters, which figures prominently in the *Death of Joseph*.[13]

The chief reason, however, for believing this motive to be native to Egypt is found in the difference between the Egyptians and the Hebrews in their conception of the soul. The refusal to die comes as a very natural outgrowth of the Egyptian beliefs we have just studied; but I find nothing in Hebrew legends which would explain it. Death was universally dreaded, and its pains were often described, there is, however, no emphasis on a definite separation of soul from body, which forms so important a feature in the "refusal" motive. The Hebrew angel of death was a man who killed men; he could be tricked, and there are many stories of his tricking others to get possession of their souls,[14] but he does not figure as a

[13] Gfoerer, p. 330. *Copt. Apoc. Gosp.*, p. 136, see above, p. 95.

[14] There is a story in the Talmud that the death-angel when sent to take the soul of David found him reading the Law. Since he could not interrupt the prophet, he went into the garden and began shaking one of the trees. Then as David went out to look after it, the steps broke under him, and his soul returned to God. (I, 385.)—Tabari tells a somewhat similar tale of the death of Abraham. The death-angel whom God had sent to take the prophet's soul with his consent appeared to him in the form of a very decrepit old man. Abraham, greatly astonished at the old man's feebleness, was told that he himself was but two years younger than the old man, and that all men upon reaching that age were equally infirm. Abraham

person who removes souls from their bodies.[15] So, in the descriptions of death it is the pain which attends the act of dying, if I may term it so, that is stressed. Death is compared to one thing or another: it is like pulling a thorn out of wool, or—apparently a favorite comparison—like pulling a hair out of milk.[16] It is not, however, made the result of the actual departure of the living soul.

then cried that he did not wish to live longer, and the angel took his soul. (I, 196-7.)—The story of R. Joshua ben Levi (cf. n. 15) is typical of the stories in which men deceive, or try to play some trick on the death-angel. Several others follow it in the Talmud. These are, I suppose, the ancestors of the mediaeval tales of tricking the death-angel, or the demon, who comes to take the soul One man asks to be allowed to live until his candle is burned out, then the permission being granted, blows out the candle and succeeds in preserving it many years. A number of such stories are recorded in Miss Trevelyan's *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, pp. 287 ff.

[15] Compare the famous story of the Death-angel's standing at the bed-side with a sword from the point of which hang three poisonous drops. One falls into the mouth of the moribund, who immediately gives up his soul, then the angel rushes out and plunges his sword into the nearest vessel of water. So all the water in a house must be poured out after a death, lest other members of the household become poisoned thereby.—In the Talmudic story of R. Joshua ben Levi who asked the Death-angel to show him his place in Paradise, and who then refused to return to earth to die, Death is said to carry a sword, or a knife. In the English translation of Mr. Gaster (*Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1893, p. 592), after the Death-angel has sworn to R. Joshua never more to show his sword to men, the explanation is added: "For up to that time the angel of death used to kill men openly, as one slaughters animals, and he showed it even to the suckling in the bosom of their mother." The German translation in *Jüd. Litt.*, I, 276, does not read in this way. This story, however, belongs with those of Death with the scythe. The angel of death kills but he does not separate soul from body. This is also the conception of Death in the *Apocalypse*, VI, 8. Compare the account of the creation of the death-angel in *Muham. Eschat.*, pp. 16 ff. Cf. also the Roumanian version of the *Testament of Abraham*, see above, p. 35, n. 9.

[16] R. Seôrim, der bruder Rabas, sass vor Raba als er in der Agonie

These illustrations, though, are exactly in accordance with the primitive Semitic conception of the soul which I suggested before. The soul was the blood, the living essence of the entire body; it was that which permeated it and made it alive in every member. The removal of the soul, therefore, would be like the removal of the blood from all the veins.[17] It is quite foreign to the idea of

lag. Da sprach er: Möge der Meister dem Todesengel sagen, dass er mich nicht quäle. Jener erwiderte: Ist denn der Meister nicht sein Beisitzer!? Dieser entgegnete: Da mein Glück fort ist, so beachtet er mich nicht mehr. Alsdann bat jener, dass er ihm [nach dem Tod] erscheine. Als er darauf bei ihm erschien, fragte er ihn: Hatte der Meister Schmerzen? Dieser erwiderte: Wie beim Stich der Schröpflanzette. Raba sass vor R. Nahman als er in der Agonie lag. Da sprach er: Möge ihm der Meister sagen, dass er mich nicht quäle. Jener erwiderte: Ist denn der Meister kein bedeutender Mann!? Dieser entgegnete: Wer ist bedeutend und wer ist geachtet und wer ist vollständig! Alsdann bat jener, das er ihm nach dem Tod erscheine. Als er darauf bei ihm erschien, fragte er ihn: Hatte der Meister Schmerzen? Dieser erwiderte: Wie man ein Haar aus der Milch zieht, und wenn der Heilige, gebenedeiet sei er, mir anheim stellen würde, zurück in diese Welt umzukehren, so würde ich dies dennoch nicht thun, aus Angst vor dem Todesengel. *Talmud* (Goldschmidt), III, 774-5.—The same ideas occur in Midaschim; *Jüd. Litt.*, I, 589-90; and in Mohammedan belief: Wolff, *Muham. Eschat.*, pp. 61 ff.

[17] The Midrasch Tehillim says: "Zur Zeit, wenn sich sein Ende naht, um von der Welt abzuscheiden, kommt der Todesengel und nimmt die Seele des Menschen. Die Seele gleicht einer Art Rohr, dass voll Blut ist, und sie hat kleine Röhrchen, welche sich im ganzen Körper zerstreuen. Der Todesengel fasst an der Spitze des Rohres und zieht sie heraus; aus dem Körper eines Gerechten zieht er sie mit Lindigkeit, gleichsam wie man einen Faden aus der Milch zieht, aus dem Körper eines Frevlers aber ist es so, als wenn er Stricke durch den Mund des Schlundes zöge." *Jüd. Litt.*, I, 589-90.—And we read of Aegidius von Assisi (d. 1262), "Im sechsten Jahre nach seiner Bekehrung, als er im Kloster zu Fabriano wohnte, kam eines Nachts die Hand des Herrn über ihn. Während er mit Inbrunst betete, wurde er von so grosser göttlicher Tröstung erfüllt, das es ihm schien, Gott wolle seine Seele aus dem Leibe führen, damit

the soul as one thing which could be removed by the feet or the hands, or the side.[18] This innate contradiction

er seine Geheimnisse in Klarheit schaue. Und er begann zu spüren, wie sein Körper erstarb, zuerst in den Füssen und dann weiter, bis die Seele ausging. Und ausser dem Leibe stehend, wie ihm schien, nach dem Willen dessen, der sie dem Leibe verbunden hatte, ergötzte sie sich ob der übergrossen Schönheit, mit der sie der heilige Geist geschmückt hatte, daran, sich selbst zu betrachten. Denn sie war sehr zart und sehr hell über alles Mass, wie er selbst vor dem Tode erzählte. Dann wurde diese sehr heilige Seele zum Schauen der himmlischen Geheimnisse hinweggeführt, die er niemals offenbaren wollte." Buber, *Ekstatische Konfession* (Jena, 1909), p. 59.— The same conception underlies a Mohammedan tradition of the creation of Adam. God ordered the soul to enter the body; it entered by the throat and penetrated to the breast and stomach, everywhere it came, the earth and other things of which the body was made were turned into nerves, flesh, blood, skin, etc. When the soul reached the head, Adam said "Praise be to God," and saw the beauties of Paradise. When it reached the stomach, Adam wanted to eat: and when it was spread out through all the body Adam was a perfect man. Wolff, *Muhamm. Eschat.*, pp. 11 ff.; *Tabari*, I, 75.

[18] I do not know of any instance in Coptic in which the angels attempt to take a single soul by the various members of its body as in the Hebrew and Mohammedan beliefs: but we have there instances of different souls being taken by the various members of the body. On this point, however, comparison with the demons is enlightening: souls and demons, as spiritual beings, had much the same characteristics. In them we find the Coptic containing the idea of the possible exits and entrances by the various members. The *Life of Pachomius* (p. 212) tells a story of a monk possessed of a demon which hid itself Pachomius examined him carefully to determine by what member the demon entered, and found it was by the fingers. He continued the search and discovered the demon lurking in the man's neck, whence he routed it, of course, immediately. (In this connection we may call attention to the belief of certain tribes that the soul resides in the nape of the neck. Cf. *Golden Bough*, I, 253.) Moreover the refusal of the various members of the body to allow the soul to pass, is strongly suggestive of various scenes from the Egyptian other-world. If the soul wished to pass through a certain hall, or to cross a river in a boat, every part of the hall, or boat (door-posts, lintel, rudder, flooring, etc.) called out to him in turn, that he could not pass unless he told their names. Cf.:

between the two conceptions of the soul is very clearly brought out in the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*. Sedrach asks the Lord through which limb He intends to take his soul, and He answers: "Dost thou not know that it . . . is dispersed through *all* thy limbs?"

My conclusion, therefore, is that the motive of the soul's refusal to die is Egyptian, not Hebrew, because it rests on a conception of the soul which is native to Egypt, and which, moreover, is contradictory to the Hebrew conceptions. The presence of the Egyptian motive in Hebrew texts is very easily explained by the residence of large numbers of Jews in Egypt, before and after the beginning of the Christian era. A slight Jewish influence may be noted in the tendency to make the soul less tangible and material, and in the lessening stress on the final removal of the soul. In none but the *Apocalypse of Sedrach*, however, does the Hebrew influence reach the point of showing the fundamental contradiction between the Hebrew and the Egyptian conceptions of the soul.

Book of the Dead, Tr. Renouf, ch. 99, pp. 174 f. and ch. 125, pp. 229 f. —It is possible that some such conception underlies the New Testament stories of the demons and spirits which possessed people. (*Mark*, I, 23-7; V, 2-13; *Acts*, XIX, 13-16.) They were certainly conceived physically since they could talk, enter into swine, etc. There is nothing, however, to indicate that they were definite physical bodies which entered by the mouth, or ears, and which resided in some one part of the body. This, nevertheless, was the later conception of these scenes. See below, p. 171, n. 24.

APPENDIX B

EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE SERMONS OF EPHRAEM SYRUS

In the writings of Ephraem Syrus there are many passages which state, though confusedly, the Egyptian beliefs we have been studying. It is very probable, I think, that Ephraem borrowed these beliefs directly from the Egyptian, for he lived at a time of transition when all sorts of influences were rife. Even if he did not know the beliefs in Egypt he may very easily have become acquainted with them through the medium of the Greek: the Church of Egypt was then of course still a part of the Greek Church, and those Egyptian texts which were not written in Greek, were almost always translated.[1]

These sermons cannot be pressed too far, however, for Assemani's edition leaves always the possibility that any particular text may not be Ephraem's. Notwithstanding these critical uncertainties, these passages are interesting because they show how the beliefs in question were quickly appropriated to the uses of the homilist.

Greek-Latin., III, 262-6. Multis sane tunc opus tibi erit ductoribus, o homo, multis adjutoribus, multis orationibus, multisque sociis in hora separationis animae a corpore. Magnus tunc erit timor, magnus tremor, magnum mysterium: magna tunc corporis in illo mundo futura est calamitas. Nam si, quum ex una regione in aliam transimus super terram, aliquibus viae ducibus ac directoribus

[1] Cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, pp. 95 ff.; *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, pp. 15 ff.; see also the article on *Syriac Literature*, by Prof. Wright, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

indigemus: quanto magis, quando in infinita transeundum hinc erit secula, unde nullus rediit . . . repente constringitur ei linqua, immutantur oculi, concutitur mens, filet os, impediturque vox; quando dominicae copiae atque satellites advenerint: quando formidabiles exercitus invaserint, atque apprehenderint: quando divini nuncii, atque emissarii animam ex corpore migrare jusserint: quando inexoribiles apparitores, in judicium nos trahentes detulerint. . . . Orate, ut cum pace anima exeat: rogate, ut locum quietis accipiat. Supplicate, ut angelos benignos habeat: precamini, ut mitem atque benevolum Judicem inveniat. . . . In illa die peribunt omnes sermocinationes, ac cogitationes ejus: in illa die quando divini exactores in medium prodierint excepturi animam, ex aëre supervenientes; in quo principatus consistunt ac potestates, mundique rectores adversarium copiarum. Acerbi illi nostri accusatores, saevi tributorum exactores, calculatores, atque censores; occurrentes, et rationem exigentes; examinantes, et hominis peccata, ac peccatorum chirographa praeferentes, quae in juventute, quae in senectute, quae sponte, quaeque imprudenter, quae operibus, quae verbis, et quae cogitationibus acciderunt. Magnus ibi tunc timor. Magnus infelicis animae tremor. Inexplicabilis necessitas, quam tunc subit ac sustinet ab immensa infinitorum hostium multitudine ipsam calumniis proscindente, ne ad coelum ascendet, ne in lumine viventium inhabitet; ne in regionem vivorum ingrediatur. Ceterum sancti Angeli excipientes animam secum abducunt.

Syriac-Latin, III, 325, *Canon*, LIX: Per obitum corpore solutus animus constitit anxius ac admodum tristis in bibio, unde statim binae erupere acies contrariae et discordes, dum ad suas unaquaeque partes illum trahere decertat; mali siquidem daemones instant, ut praecipitem impellant in Gehennam: obstant Angeli, et ad lucidas Beatorum sedes deducere contendunt, in eo immortalis vitae aeternaeque mortis confinis constitutus animus flocci non faciet carissimos quondam amicos, fratres, cognatos, et familiares, congestas opes aspernabitur, et quaecumque possedit bona; suorum illum peccatorum sola fremet recordatio, exagitabit et anget; obstupescet enimvero se in tam multis peccare potuisse, tum vero ad corpus, cui hactenus insedarat conversus, vale, fidissime comes, dicet, nos separat mors, tu hic manebis, ego discedam: cui corpus: omnia tibi, mihi carissime, precor bona, incolumitatem, salutem, reditum; qui autem nos ambos condidit, cavebit nobis utique, ne in tartarum devolvamur.

Greek-Latin, III, 356-7: Nescitis, Fratres mei, qualem timorem, et necessitatem sustinere debemus in hora exitus nostri ex hac vita, quando anima a corpore separatur? Magnus timor, ac magnum mysterium ibi consummatur. Aderunt enim in ipsa Angeli boni, et multitudo coelestis exercitus, et omnes adversariae potestates, et

principes tenebrarum, utrique cupidi sumendi animam, ac constituendi illi locum. Si igitur anima ex hoc tempore possedit virtutes bonas, vixitque vitam honestam, ac virtute praedita fuit, die exitus sui, ipsae virtutes, quas possedit in hoc statu, fuint Angeli boni, eamque circumdant, neque sinunt ullam ex contrariis potestatibus ipsam tangere; sed cum gaudio, atque exultatione cum Angelis sanctis illam suscipiunt, cantantes hymnos victoriae Deo, illamque offerunt Christo Domino, et Regi gloriae; eumque adorant cum ipsa, universoque coelesti exercitu; et ducitur deinde ad locum quietis, ad inexplicabile gaudium, ad lumen aeternum ubi non est dolor, neque gemitus. . . . Si vero in hac vita turpiter vixit, versata in passionibus ignominiae, voluptalibus carnis abstracta, et mundi hujus vanitate, in die exitus ejus ex hac vita, ipsae affectiones, et voluptates, quas habuit in vita hac, fiunt daemones mali, et circumdant animam miseram, nec sinunt ut Angeli Dei accedant, sed assumunt eam cum contrariis potestatibus dominis tenebrarum, et abducunt ipsam misere lungentem, demisso vultu incedentem, ac lamentantem, in loca tenebrosa, et obscura, et infesta, ubi peccatores omnes servantur in diem judicii, suppliciique aeterni, quo diabolus ejectus est cum angelis ipsius.

Compare also *Greek-Latin,* III, 312, 321, 376; II, 50.

APPENDIX C

AN UNPUBLISHED HOMILY ON THE SOUL'S EXIT FROM ITS BODY

As an example of the variations which the Egyptian traditions suffered in the Western homilies, and as an addition to the Body and Soul material, the following sermon is worth printing. It is found in MS. Latin 2628 (Sæc. XI) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and has not hitherto been printed.

(Fol. 103-4.) *Incipiunt omelie beati augustini de anima exeunte de corpore.* . . . Et futurum nobis est unicuique homini mortem gustare ut uitam gustauit. Et ueniunt duo hostes in obviam illi, hostis niger et ethiopus, alius hostis in uestibus albis sicut lana alba aut nix; et faciunt certamina circa hominem. Si uero inueniunt demones eum suum socium esse canunt omnes et angeli contristantur. Tunc demones dicunt: Noster est ille uir qui inermis fuit, arma pauli non custodiuit que tenere eum iussit ad bellum contra nos, id est scutum fidei et gladium spiritus quid est verbum domini, loricam iusticie, et galeam salutis que oportebat eum tenere contra nos. Tunc demum dicunt: Suscitate eam grauiter de suo corpore, et date illi tremores et timores et sentiat quis eam deducat. Tunc dicit anima immunda: Heu me! magne sunt tenebre! Demones respondent: Maiores tibi future sunt. Ibi sunt tenebre exteriores, ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium, et multitudo tormentorum. Et dicit iterum infelix anima. Asperum est iter! Demones dicunt: Asperius tibi est futurum. Deducimus te ad prothoplastum sathanan; qui alligatus est in puteo inferni. Dicit tercio misera anima: Magna angustia! Demones respondent: Maiores sunt tibi future. Deducimus te ad locum terribilem carentem tabernaculis iustorum et uidebis simulque senties tormenta impiorum. Tunc dividunt se in duos hostes, alius proueniens, alius consequens. Et canunt de canticulis dauid dicentis: Quid generalis (?) in malitia, qui potens est iniquitate. Tota die iniusticia cogitauit lingua tua. Michael

tamen non dimittet eam donec assignet eam ante tribunal trinitatis ut referat prout gessit siue bonum siue malum.

Quando uero boni angeli inueniunt animam iustam suamessesociam gaudent omnes et demones contristantur. Angeli dicunt: Noster est ille uir quia in bello fortis est, stabilis in acie, arma pauli custodiens, id est scutum fidei, et gladium spiritus sancti, loricam iusticiae et galeam salutis et nunquam inermis fuit. Fidelis est et lenis est: amans dominum ualde misericors est. Omnia sustinuit propter dominum omnipotentem, sperans futura. Tunc dicunt angeli: Suscitate eam leniter de suo corpore, ut quod ei parauit dominus uideat bonus. Tunc dicit anima hominis iusti: Magnum est lumen! Angeli dicunt: Maius tibi futurum est. Uidebis claritatem domini facie ad faciem non per speculum neque per uelum quemadmodum uidebant filii israelis faciem moysi. Dicit denuo anima: Magna est leticia; Cui respondetur ab angelis: Maior tibi futura est. Tunc uidet angelorum multitudinem in obviam sibi uenientium et canentium. Hi sunt qui uenerunt ex magna tribulatione et lauerunt stolas suas in sanguine agni. Dicit tercio anima: Suaue est iter. Angeli respondent: Suauius tibi est futurum. Deducimus te ad tabernacula sanctorum carentia in iustorum habitatione. Tunc dicunt angeli: Suscitate eam leniter de suo corpore, et ut nichil timoris, nichil doloris uideat. Diuidite uos in duos choros, ut alius sit proueniens, alius consequens, et cantate illi de canticulis dauid ubi manifesta . . . beatitudinem anime intrantis in domo domini dicit: Beatus quem elegisti et assumpsisti domine, inhabitabit in tabernaculis tuis. Replebimur in bonis domus tue: sanctum est templum tuum, mirabile in equitate. Non est acceptio personarum ibi et nobilitas generis, sed reddit dominus unicuique secundum opera sua. Et ibunt impii in ignem eternum, iusti autem in uitam eternam in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Although it contains no speech of the soul to the body, this homily belongs clearly to the same line of tradition as much of the Body and Soul material. In the separation scenes, and in the antithesis between the song of the demons and that of the angels it should be compared with the Irish homily. This sermon offers similarities to the Latin homily also, in that it places equal emphasis on the good and evil souls, as well as in the speeches of the angels and demons to the souls concerning their future joys and sorrows. The intimate relations of this homily

to the Egyptian beliefs are, on the whole, too patent to need explanation. One should notice, moreover, the peculiar variation of the motive of the dangerous path to the other-world. Under the guidance of the angels, the path to heaven not only loses its dangers, but becomes bright and smooth. In the division of the demons into two parties, one preceding, the other following, we have but the antithesis to the corresponding division of the angels—a motive we have met with more than once, the earliest instance being found in the apocryphal *Falling Asleep of Mary*.

APPENDIX D

THE EGYPTIAN MOTIVES IN MEDIÆVAL LITERATURE

In this appendix I shall do no more than briefly summarize some of the mediæval modifications of the Coptic motives.

The Removal of the Soul

The first half of the passage from the *Vitae Patrum,* telling of the good soul which refused to come out at the bidding of Michael and Gabriel is repeated in a somewhat abbreviated form in the *Exempla* of Jacques de Vitry.[1] Angels—not Michael and Gabriel—are sent to bring back a pilgrim's soul without pain of death. They return saying the soul does not wish to go out from the body. Then David is sent to sing before him with his zither and the soul comes out with joy. A French metrical version of this passage containing the descriptions of both the good and evil souls is found in the Berne ms. (Art. 51, f. 139[a]). It begins:

> I hot en ung dessert d'Egipte
> Ung prodome et sant hermite.[2]

Alcuin relates that one of his brother monks saw a man

[1] Ed. Crane, no. cxxxii. Crane refers to a version of this *exemplum* in Brit. Mus. ms. Harl., 463, fo. 12b; *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum,* ed. Major; Angelus, x. (Liber de exemplis et doctrina vitae spiritualis, nu. 17.) See pp. 20, 26.

[2] Cf. A. Tobler, *Jahrb. für roman. u. engl. Lit.,* vii, 432.

of radiant face and garments descend, press his mouth against the mouth of a dying man, and fly away with his soul.[3]

The hooks for removing the soul are found in the *Ayenbite of Inwit.* Dread announces the coming of Death with a thousand devils, bringing with them great books and burning hooks. "Ine þe bokes byeþ y-write alle þe zennen of men, and his brengeþ þet be ham hi moȝe ouercome men, of huychen þe zennes þerinne byeþ ywrite. þet byeþ to hare riȝte. Hokes hi brengeþ þet þo þet byeþ to hare riȝte ouercomeþ: hire zaulen be strenþe: of þe bodye draȝeþ out, and hise byndeþ mid þe chaines and in to helle hise draȝeþ.[4]

St. Alpais (d. 1211) saw the soul of an old woman taken from her stomach.

In domum cujusdam grandaevae feminae, quae vicina erat matri suae, duxit angelus suus animam puellae, visumque est ei quod angelus aniculae illius animam illius de corpore suo, scisso ventre extraxit.[5]

In the Middle English *Northern Passion* [6] it is said that the soul of Judas could not go out through the mouth because it had kissed God, so it went out through the

[3] E. Duemmler. *Monumenta Germaniae Hist. Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini,* I, 169-206. I have the reference from E. Peters, *Rom. Forsch.,* 8, 361.

[4] *E. E. T. S.* 23, p. 264.

[5] L'Abbe P. Blanchon, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Alpais,* Marly-le-Roy, 1893, lib. II, cap. IX, p. 157. The manuscript is of the 13th cent. In another chapter St. Alpais gives a description of the soul which is little in accord with this vision: "Nullo loco continetur anima, quia localis non est; nullo spatio finitur, quia quantitate caret; nullis membris circumscribitur, quia incorporea est." The complete description is found in Liber IV, cap. XVII, pp. 205 ff.

[6] Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 4196,, fol. 73, col. 2. The *Northern Passion* is being edited by Miss Frances Foster of Bryn Mawr College.

stomach. Acts 1, 18, was probably the starting-point for the tradition that the soul of Judas made its exit from his stomach. In the Frankfort Passion-play its passage was represented on the stage. "Iudas recedit suspendens eius ymaginem dyubulus ex ventre eius capit animam."[7]

Souls were not infrequently represented on the stage, Jesus carried the soul of Mary to heaven,[8] Satan comes carrying many souls,[9] an angel takes the soul of the good thief, a demon, that of the evil one: "In dissem sol jeglicher schacher ein bildly im mull han, als ob es ein sel were. den nimpt der engel des guten Schachers sel und gat in himel, und der tuffel des andern sel und leufft mit grossen geschrey in die hell." [10]

Souls were also represented on the stages as birds: the soul of Jesus appeared as a white dove. "Tum Ihesus inclinat caput. Angelus secundus stat in cruce a dextris et mittit columbam albam volare." [11] "Mit den worten naigt Saluator das haupt am creitz und ist tod; fleügt ain weisse tawb von im." [12] The soul of Judas was a black bird: "Iudas sol ein swartzen vogel und etwas tärmen vor im büsen han, den sol im Belczebug uff risten, daz es uszher vall." [13] A similar device is used in Lindesay's *Satyre of the thrie Estaits* for the soul of Falsehood. "Heir sal he be heisit vp, and not his figure; and an Craw or ane Ke salbe castin vp, as it war his saull." [14]

[7] Heinzel, *Beschreibung des Geistlichen Schauspiels im deutschen Mittelalter*, p. 33. Hamburg und Leipzig, 1898.

[8] Innsbrucker Mariae-Himmelfahrtsspiel, 1555, Heinzel, p. 33.

[9] Innsbrucker Osterspiel mit Höllenfahrt, 362; Heinzel, p. 33.

[10] Donaueschinger Passionsspiel, 3455; Heinzel, p. 33.

[11] Alsfelder Passionsspiel, 6274; Heinzel, p. 33.

[12] Augsburger Passionspiel, 1789; Heinzel, p. 33.

[13] Donaueschinger Passionsspiel, 2479; Heinzel, p. 34.

[14] *E. E. T. S.* 37, p. 533.

Welsh tradition, on the other hand, has it that the soul of a wizard or a witch passes from the body as a "great big moth." [15] Among the Bretons the soul may be seen in the form of a fly, a white mouse, or a white flower.[16]

The illustrations to manuscripts very frequently show the popular conception—or it may be only the stereotyped representation—of the departure of the soul when the text itself is silent.[17] I have examined only a few manuscripts at the British Museum. In one a demon is pulling the soul from the dying man's mouth by means of a rope around its neck.[18] In another the demon is taking the soul from the mouth but without any external aid,[19] again it is an angel with a halo and wings who is helping the soul out of the mouth.[20]

The entire upper half of the fresco on the walls of the Campo Santo of Pisa is filled with angels and demons snatching away the souls of the dead and carrying them to their destinations.[21]

[15] Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, London, 1909, p. 207.

[16] A. Le Braz, *La Légende de la Mort en Basse-Bretagne*, pp. 122, 132, 135.

[17] On this subject consult the plates in Louisa Twining's *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediæval Christian Art*, London, 1852.

[18] MS. Royal 19 C. I (14th cent.), f. 203 b. Cf. f. 120 b. Unless otherwise stated the soul is represented as a small child. Hints of the manner of removal may be found, also, in the pictures of the demons carrying souls to hell. In one picture a demon is dragging a soul headforemost into hell by means of a halter around its neck. Another is leading a soul with a halter, while a third demon spears it from the rear. A fourth is flying through the air holding a trident in one hand, and a soul, hanging by its hair, in the other. (Add. MS. 29433, f. 89, 15th cent.).

[19] MS. Royal 10 E IV, f. 204, 14th century.

[20] Add. MS. 37049, f. 29.

[21] Didron, *Christian Iconography*, II, 163.

Often the soul is pictured in its departure through the mouth, though there is no angel or demon present to assist it.[22] In the Old English *Life of St. Guthlac* a miniature showing the death of the saint, represents one angel receiving the soul as it leaves Guthlac's mouth; a second angel is hovering near with an outstretched cloth. Another miniature in the same manuscript shows a devil leaving the mouth of a demon.[23] This drawing is in every way parallel to the picture of the soul's exit, and serves as a very good introduction to a consideration of other instances in which the beliefs about devils or spirits parallel those about souls.[24]

Samuel Harsnet (*A Declaration of Popish Impostures,* 1604, pp. 67-8) tells of a man possessed of a devil which, becoming frightened by the presence of the priest, wished to go out at the man's mouth, but finding the priest's mouth too near, it departed at his right ear in the form of a mouse.[25]

The same ideas, though with symbolic meaning, occur in Old English.

[22] Pictures of the soul near the body just after it has separated from it are too common to be noted: especially those of the saints in oval halos. In a painting of the Crucifixion in the entrance hall to the National Gallery, London, the souls of the two thieves are shown, that of the good thief, a little angel, is rising toward heaven, that of the other thief, a little demon, is falling toward hell. If I remember correctly, there are no angels or demons accompanying either soul. This is a fairly common motive of crucifixion scenes; but I have seen no such painting in which the soul of Christ was represented.

[23] These miniatures are reproduced in Gonser's edition of the *Life of St. Guthlac, Anglistische Forschungen,* 1909.

[24] MS. Royal 19 C. I, f. 164 b and 165 b, shows the evil spirits, as small dark brown devils, leaving the mouths of men, and enter into the mouths of swine. Cf. Appendix A, p. 160, n. 8.

[25] Related by Brewer, *Dict. of Miracles,* p. 100.

Eft-sone, neddre smuhgð ȝeliche. Swo doð þe werse, þenne he auint mannes heorte emti of rihte bi-leue, and of soðere luue, he secheð forte þat he ofen fint and ȝeliche smughð þer inne, at te eȝen ȝif it open ben to bi-holden idel, oðer unnut, atte earen ȝif it open ben to listen unnut oðer idel, at te nose ȝif it beað open to snuuende unluuede breð, at te muð ȝif hit open beoð to spekende mis, oðer on ete, oðer on drinke to mis don, at te shape ȝif hie redie ben to golliche deden. *He sunt autem. V porte mortis, per quas ingreditur autor mortis, ut occidat, et efferat mortuos,* attese fif gaten fareð in deaðes wrihte, and þer inne doð.[26]

The Angels who Take Souls

References to the demons and angels who take souls, and to the terror and joy which they occasion, are not difficult to find. An example, rather more vivid than many, occurs in the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis (12th cent.).

Cum mali in extremis sunt, daemones maximo strepitu conglobati veniunt aspectu horribiles, gestibus terribiles, qui animam cum pervalido tormento de corpore excutirunt, et crudeliter ad inferni claustra pertrahunt.[27]

Cum justus in extremis agit, angelus sui custos cum multitudine angelorum venit, et animam ejus sponsam Christi de carcere corporis tollit, et cum maximo dulcissimae melodiae cantu, et immenso lumine, ac suavissimo odore, ad coeleste perducit palatium, in spiritualem paradisum.[28]

In the lives of the Western Saints we find the same uniformity as in the accounts of their Egyptian brothers and sisters. Angels carried off the soul of nearly every one, St. Barbara, St. Fructuosus and two others, St. Peter the exorcist, St. Titus, St. Vincent Ferrier—

[26] Morris, *O. E. Homilies*, II, 191. *E. E. T. S.*, 53.
[27] *P. L.*, 172, 1159. Cf. *P. G.*, 58, 532.
[28] *Ibid.*, col. 1157.

the list might easily be lengthened.[29] We find the motive used even in accounts of the deaths of William Wallace and Edward I.[30]

More noteworthy are the scenes in which we have the two or three angels who take the soul, or in which we find the division of the angels into two bands, one preceding and singing, the other accompanying the soul.[31] Thus, in the *Vision of Furseus* two angels carry the saint, while a third goes before with a white shield and a shining sword; all sing sweetly.[32] In a British Museum manuscript of the first half of the fifteenth century is a picture of a soul being led to heaven by four angels. Two are accompanying the soul, the other two go before, carrying musical instruments. The legend reads: "Here is a sawle led with myrthe and melody of angels to heuen.[33] According to the account in the *Acta Sanctorum,* when St. Medard died (545), two angels in the form of doves descended from heaven, and the Saint's soul, also in the form of a dove, came from his mouth. The two angels then accompanied the soul to heaven.[34] In many death-bed scenes also the number of angels or demons who are present to assume the soul is limited to two, or three.[35]

[29] Cf. Brewer, *Dictionary of Miracles,* pp. 7-8, 230, 458.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 460.

[31] The account of the death of Mary in the *Cursor Mundi* should be compared with the various Coptic accounts, *EETS.,* 66, 1184-5.

[32] Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory,* p. 9.

[33] Add. MS. 37049, f. 74 b.

[34] Brewer, *op. cit.,* p. 109.

[35] This point cannot be pressed because the limitations of the drawing would demand that the number of angels or demons be small. On the other hand I do not recall a single manuscript drawing in which there were more than three demons, or angels, around a death-bed, unless vast hosts were represented.

The Struggle with the Demons

The mediæval versions of the struggle with the demons are found most frequently in visions. In the correspondence of Boniface and Lullus such a vision is recorded:

Praeterea referebat: illo in temporis spatio, quo extra corpus fuit, tam magnam animarum migrantium de corpore multitudinem illuc, ubi ipse fuit, convenisse, quam totius humani generis in terris non fuisse antea existimaret. Innumerabilem quoque malignorum spirituum turbam nec non et clarissimum chorum supernorum angelorum adfuisse narravit. Et maximam inter se miserrimos spiritus et sanctos angelos de animabus egredientibus de corpore disputationem habuisse, daemones accussando et peccatorum pondus gravando, angelos vero relevando et excussando.

Et se ipsum audisse, omnia flagitiorum suorum propria peccamina —quae fecit a iuventute sua et ad confitendum aut neglexit aut oblivioni tradidit vel ad peccatum pertinere omnino nesciebat— ipsius propria voce contra illum clamitasse et eum dirissime accussasse et specialiter unumquodque vitium quasi ex sua persona in medium se obtulisse dicendo quoddam: "Ego sum cupiditas tua, qua inlicita frequentissime et contraria praeceptis Dei concupisti;" quoddam vero: "Ego sum vana gloria, qua te apud homines iactanter exaltasti;" [so *mendacium, contumacia, inobedientia, torpor et desidia in sanctorum studiorum neglectu,* etc.] Omnia, quae in diebus vitae suae in carne conversatus peregit et confiteri neglexit, multa quoque, quae ad peccatum pertinere omnino ignorabat, contra eum cuncta terribiliter vociferabant. Similiter et maligni spiritus in omnibus consonantes vitiis accussando et duriter testificando et loca et tempora nefandorum actuum memorantes eadem, quae peccata dixerunt, conclamantes probabant. Vidit quoque ibi hominem quendam, cui iam in seculari habitu degens vulnus inflixit—quem adhuc in hac vita superesse referebat—ad testimonium malorum suorum adductum; cuius cruentatum et patens vulnus et sanguis ipse, propria voce clamans inproperabat et inputabat ei crudele effusi sanguis ipse, propria voce clamans inproperabat et inputabat ei crudele effusi sanguinis crimen. Et sic cumulatis et conputatis sceleribus, antiqui hostes adfirmabant; cum, reum peccatorem, iuris eorum et condicionis indubitanter fuisse.

E contra autem—dixit—excussantes me, clamitabant parve virtutes animae, quas ego miser indigne et inperfecte peregi. Quaedam dixit: "Ego sum oboedientia quam senioribus spiritalibus exhibuit;" [and so on with other virtures] . . . Et si unaquaeque virtus contra emulum suum peccatum excussando me clamitabat. Et has illi inmensae claritatis angelici spiritus magnificando defendentes me adfirmabant. Et istae virtutes universae valde mactae et multo maiores et excellentiores esse mihi videbantur, quam umquam viribus meis digne perpetrate fuissent." [36]

In the visions of the other world this motive is frequently found, the progress of the visionary is, oddly enough, hindered by the accusing demons. The vision of the struggle alone, is of course a warning of what will happen after death. But when the saint is being carried to heaven and hell by angels that he may relate what he has seen when he shall return to earth, it seems rather stupid of the demons to challenge his progress just as though it were a soul gone out from the body. The order in the *Visio Pauli* is of course the logical one: the visionary sees the demons challenging a soul which has gone out from the body.

Nevertheless, when the soul of Furseus is snatched from his body, he has to pass through clouds of opposing demons, Satan advances all of his sins, even to idle words and thoughts. The angels answer his arguments and he allows Furseus to pass. The dangers, here, as in the Coptic accounts, are varied. For Furseus has then to pass through four fires, identified with "Neglect of the Baptismal Vow to renounce the Devil and his works," Covetousness, Dissension, and Injustice. These being

[36] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi I. S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, No. 10 (c. 717) *Wynfrethus Eadburgae abbatissae Thanetensi visionem in monasterio Wenlocensi factam perscribit*, p. 252. Compare also no. 115, p. 403.

passed he is seven times more assailed by demons.[37] St. Furseus lived in the seventh century: another Irish vision, attributed to St. Laisrén, who lived at about the same time, records the motive yet more clearly.

Two angels, taking Laisrén's soul between them, bore it aloft into the air, where a host of angels received it. Further progress was opposed by three hordes of fiery demons, armed with fiery spears and darts, one of whom preferred against Laisrén a long charge, enumerating all the sins which he had committed since birth, and of which he had failed to make confession; "and the demon said nothing that was not true." However, "an angel of the great host" succeeded in answering all charges, and dismissed the demons; he then bade Laisrén's conductors take his soul to see Hell.[38]

In the *Vision of Tundale,* the soul of Tundale is hovering near the body anxious to re-enter it, when it is assaulted by great hosts of demons, with horns and tails, and with flames issuing from their mouths. At length, however, it is rescued by its guardian angel, and is taken to visit heaven and hell.[39]

Thurchill in his vision of purgatory[40] does not meet with the opposing spirits. We have, however, a reference to the belief in them, in the description of the basilica which was the place for all souls which had recently

[37] Boswell, *Irish Precursor of Dante,* pp. 167-8. Cf. Becker, *Med. Visions,* p. 51.

[38] Boswell, *op. cit.,* p. 170. Professor Kuno Meyer dates the original of this vision in the late ninth or early tenth century. Cf. Boswell, p. 169, n. 2.

[39] This vision is also Irish, it belongs to the 12th century. Cf. Boswell, *op. cit.,* pp. 212 f.; Becker, *Med. Visions,* p. 82; Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory,* p. 33.

[40] Related by Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora,* A. D. 1206. *Rolls Series,* II, 497 ff. Cf. Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory,* pp. 41 ff.

gone out from their bodies. It had been appointed by the Savior upon the intercession of the Virgin in order that souls might come to it, *absque ulla daemonum invasione* and there be judged according to their works.[41]

The *Vision of Eusebius* records the struggle as a reality. Two hours before his death Eusebius began to act terribly, and frightened the monks by crying out: "I did not do it, you lie!" and "Help me, brothers, or I perish!" When the monks questioned him he replied: "Did you not see the crowd of demons which desired to overcome me?" "And what did they wish to do to you, when you cried out, 'I did not do it?'" "I was protesting that I had not blasphemed the divine name." "Wherefore did you turn your face down to the earth?" "Lest I might see their face which is ugly and terrible, nothing on earth can be compared to it." At the last hour, however, Jerome appeared and comforted Eusebius, thereupon the demons vanished. Jerome reassured Eusebius that he would not desert him, and shortly after Eusebius died.[42]

One should compare the Catholic *Recommendation of a Departing Soul:*—

Egredienti itaque animae tuae de corpore, splendidus Angelorum coetus occurrat: judex Apostolorum tibi senatus adveniat; candidatorum tibi Martyrum triumphator exercitus obviet; liliata rutilantium te Confessorum turma circumdet; jubilantium te Virginum chorus excipiat; et beatae quietis in sinu Patriarcharum te complexus astringat; mitis atque festivus Christi Jesu tibi aspectus appareat, qui te inter assistentes sibi jugiter interesse decernat. Ignores omne quod horret in tenebris, quod stridet in flammis, quod cruciat in tormentis. Cedat tibi teterrimus Satanas cum satellitibus suis:

[41] *Rolls Series*, II, 498.

[42] *P. L.*, 33, 1128-9, cf. col. 1130. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, *B*-text, Passus VII, lines 33-4.

in adventu tuo te comitantibus Angelis contremiscat, atque in aeternae noctis chaos immane diffugiat. Exurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici ejus; et fugiant qui oderunt eum, a facie ejus . . . Confundantur igitur et erubescant omnes tartareae legiones, et ministri Satanae iter tuum impedire non audeant.[43]

In the Greek poem by Phillip the Solitary, *The Tears of Phillip,* the author has combined the struggle with the spirits with the belief in the tour of heaven and hell. To quote from the editor's Introduction:

"L'auteur s'addresse à l'âme; il lui reproche de négliger de faire pénitence. Un jour viendra où elle sera séparée du corps. A ce moment, elle suppliera les anges envoyés pour l'emmener de lui accorder quelques instants afin qu'elle se repente de ses fautes, mais ce sera en vain. Une balance est là jour peser les actes de sa vie. Les démons placent ses péchés dans l'un des bassins, tandis que l'autre reçoit les bonnes actions apportées par les anges. Si le poids des vertus l'emporte sur celui des fautes, l'âme est conduite au ciel; mais sur la route elle rencontre les démons princes de l'air qui lui font rendre compte de ses actions; enfin après avoir échappé à leurs mains elle est conduite devant le trône de Dieu, qui ordonne à ses ministres de lui faire parcourir l'heureux séjour des saints. Si, au contraire, le poids des fautes est plus considérable que celui des vertus, ce sont les démons qui saisissent l'âme et lui font voir les divers tourments de l'enfer. Elle attend le jugement dernier dans celui des deux séjours qui lui est destiné."[44]

The editor goes on to state that some of the details above

[43] From the *Official Prayer Book of the Catholic Church,* New York, 1896.—Without entering into any of the controversy about the poem, one may suggest a comparison of the tradition of the struggle with the demons, with the first part of the *Muspilli.* "Denn sobald sich die Seele auf den Weg erhebt und den Leib liegen lässt, kommt ein Heer von des himmels Gestirnen, ein anderes aus der Hölle, Sie streiten sich um sie. Wohl mag die Seele in Sorge stehen, bis die Entscheidung ergangen ist, zu welchem Heere sie gehalt werde." Schmeller, *Muspilli* (Munich, 1832), p. 13.

[44] L'Abbé Emmanuel Auvray, *Les Pleurs de Philippe, Poëme en vers politiques de Philippe, le Solitaire; Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études,* XXII, Paris, 1875, p. 3.

are not precise. "Ainsi ou peut se demander si l'âme qui visite les enfers n'est pas la même qui vient de parcourir le ciel: ce qui serait peu conforme à la théologie et sans doute à la croyance religieuse de l'écrivain." [45] On the contrary, the belief that the soul visited both heaven and hell agrees exactly with the well established belief in the soul's tour of the universe.[46]

[45] Pp. 3-4.

[46] This belief, however, seems to have been very little known in the Middle Ages. I have found no other certain reference to it.